

THE

Ronconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

PRIESTS, PLACEMEN, AND PHILOSOPHERS.

ECCLESIASTICISM! What is it? Why is it to be feared? Why should nations, aspiring to be free, resist, at any risk, its stealthy encroachments? History instructs us that, in all ages, like a parasitic weed, it has withered and destroyed social, political, and religious liberty, whenever it has overgrown them. And no wonder! The lust of power, common, alas! to human nature, may seek its ends by means which, whether unsuccessful or victorious, leave the character, the manhood, the intellectual energy, the religious sentiment, of its intended victims untouched. In such case, it establishes dominion over the suburbs only of humanity, whilst all that is resident within the walls of our being, all that constitutes the worth and dignity of individual man—mind, heart, and will—still exercise their wonted sovereignty, although within somewhat narrower limits. But ecclesiasticism is the lust of power gaining its object by obtaining access to the inmost citadel—establishing its authority by debauching the conscience, corrupting the affections, holding the will itself under deadly fascination, and working out all its selfish and despotic purposes, by the ready instrumentality of those very sentiments which, if not tampered with, would have kept watch and ward over the integrity of what man and God most prize—spiritual individuality and independence. State-craft may ruin a people's circumstances—priestcraft only can completely ruin people's character.

The prominent symptoms of the times augur unfavourably for the further and fuller development of real freedom in Great Britain. There are marks, we sometimes tremblingly suspect, upon the correctest embodiments of the national mind, which point to our rapid deterioration, both mentally and morally, as far too probable. The Saxon mind, on the soil of aristocratic institutions, has, seemingly, like the potato, exhausted its vital energy, and the manliness which once distinguished it bids fair to sicken and die. The piling political sentimentalism now so fashionable—mewed in tones of such self-evident complacency by journals aspiring to a reputation for philosophy—echoed and re-echoed by the vast majority of our statesmen, with a fidelity of repetition, and a monotony of language, worthy of a dead, dead wall, which speaks only by a kind of senseless repercussion—and passing current in most circles of social life as the legitimate coin of a well-ordered intellect—strikes us as the most melancholy characteristic of the present day. With benevolent professions on its lips, and, in charity we will hope, with the profoundest ignorance of the mischief which it does, it is gaily surrendering, one by one, all the strong-holds of social and national independence—quietly, and without protest, allowing popular virtue to be hemmed in by increasing bands of state functionaries—marking, with childish indifference or more childish delight, the encroachment of the executive power upon constitutional principles which their forefathers cemented with their blood,—and, worse than all, actively betraying into the hands of ecclesiasticism the very sources of national virility, and encouraging it to poison all manhood at its fountain-head. Piling sentimentalism is doing this, and boasting of it—is unbolting the door of Great Britain's heart to swarms of priest-made creatures, that they may rush in and take possession of every available corner of it for the sole use of their masters, and is actually glorying in the deed—is handing over to sacerdotal arrogance and exclusiveness, the whole childhood of these realms to be manipulated into subservient worshippers of clerical supremacy, and congratulates itself upon its high-minded superiority to vulgar and fanatical prejudices.

The rapidity with which social self-reliance is being worn away by incessant legislative meddling, is really frightful. Priests, placemen, and philosophers con-

derate, as it would seem, to bring the entire surface of society in these realms under the action of the most sordid and corrupting motives. They are altering the pivot upon which all philanthropy turns. To childhood, youth, maturity, and old age, they offer as the best stimulus to subinission and exertion—pensions and places. The whole machinery of national education is to be turned by bribery. Government, with funds wrung from its own subjects, undertakes to lure the childhood of Great Britain into the arms of ecclesiasticism, and, by a clever distribution of prizes, to bring crowds of wanderers back to the sacerdotal fold. A more execrable project never yet was broached. The plan is nothing less than one for the systematic debauchery of the national intellect and heart. The Whigs are enacting the part of Dalilah—soothing Sampson to sleep that his enemies may shear the locks of his strength, put out his eyes, and make him "grind in the prison-house of their sinister desires and practices upon him."

How long is this annual augmentation of functional and clerical influence to go on unchecked? What safety is there for our boasted liberties, when, at every turn of life, and in every parish of the empire, the priest and the placeman are present with glittering bribes, to corrupt all honesty of sentiment, and to entice from its onward path all independence of will? What will Parliament reflect, some ten years hence, but the views and wishes of those who live upon the public, and whose interests will be identified with monopoly, inefficiency, and extravagance? The utter infatuation with which all classes tacitly consent to one plan after another propounded by *doctrinaires*, for breaking down all our ancient habits of self-reliance and spontaneous action, thoroughly astounds us. Where are the professed friends of the people? Is there no man in either House of Parliament to rise up, and lay bare the elaborate treachery which is engaged in undermining the dearest birthright of Britons? Oh! that some strong-minded, heroic-hearted Cromwell were amongst us, to smash in pieces, with a few energetic but truth-telling sentences, the cant maxims of the day, and with a thunderbolt of patriotic indignation, to crush that hollow but gilded policy which is so much in vogue with all parties—the policy which aims to enslave the people by corrupting them! We can imagine the scorn with which he would listen to the benevolent professions intended to usher in fresh regiments of placemen, and permanently to make over fresh influence to priests—the rough determination with which he would tear away the flimsy veil from the Ministerial scheme, and expose its real purport in the multiplication of placemen and priests—and the stern rebuke he would hurl at the wanton cruelty of men who, for the paltry ends of party, would deliberately hand over the young and susceptible mind of the country, to the deadliest foes of popular independence, liberty, and progress—placemen and priests.

We do wrong, perhaps, to sigh for any such champion. The work to be done, must be done by ourselves—by all who see the impending evil, and would avert it. But it can only be done effectually by indomitable resolution. To the winds with all past friendly alliances with self-styled Liberals! when have they ever failed to betray us? The very elements of freedom are assailed—assailed by a confederation of all existing political parties. It behoves us to be prompt, decided, inflexible, united. There is a broad principle about which we may gather,—that the formation of a people's mind is not the business of Government. Hereupon let us take our stand, shoulder to shoulder, and, like Cortez when he landed on the shores of Mexico, let us at once and for ever destroy not only the temptation but the possibility of future retreat! "Onwards" should be our motto. No rest should be desired until we have won for ourselves the whole extent of the soil upon which we have set foot. The day is come for testing our sincerity. Votes as well as voices must be unhesitatingly placed at the service of the cause. The odds are against us, it is true—but we believe it to be also true, that if, flinging aside all mistrust in each other, forgetting all personal differences, dismissing cliqueism, and, following out to its legitimate extent a noble principle, we can but front the foe, as men who have made up their minds to discharge their duty, fearless of all consequences, we shall in the issue prove too powerful for the whole host of "*priests, placemen, and philosophers*."

PROPOSED NATIONAL FAST.

HER Majesty's Ministers have resolved upon appointing a day for general fasting and humiliation,

on account of the grievous famine in Ireland. The Privy Council will fix the date, and the Queen will issue her commands. The result will be a duplicate, this year, of Good Friday, unless Good Friday be the day pitched upon.

Humiliation before God on account of our sins is, unquestionably, our duty; but it is a duty to which the calling of the nation by the Queen in Council, or, in other words, by the Government of the day, is little better than a solemn farce. Though the calamity now desolating Ireland were less intimately connected than it is with past misrule, and more directly from the hand of God, we can discover no special suitableness in going through a national exercise of devotion at the beck of State-fuglemen. That thousands of Christians will, on that day, abase themselves in spirit, we cannot question—probably, they are already doing so in secret. And that the vast multitude will either acquit themselves of a piece of hypocrisy well-pleasing to themselves, or devote the hours thus spent by others to holiday recreations, we are quite as certain. The truth is, the Queen's command comes from the wrong quarter to those who are disposed to real religious humiliation—and to all who are otherwise inclined, it comes for a purpose either delusive or nugatory. But this is one of the modes in which State-churchism manifests itself. Thus it is, that the civil power occasionally obtrudes its piety upon the people. A fast-day is a bit of machinery belonging to the world's form of religion—solemn—gorgeous—ostentatious—noisy—hollow. When will religion be released from such unseemly interferences? When will men look at things as they are, instead of at the forms only or shows of things? Prayer to God is good, and so is humiliation—but it is not good that either the one or the other should be offered at the bidding of an earthly power.

LECTURES AT NORWICH.—The meetings of the Religious Liberty Society (says the *Norfolk News*) have not fallen short of the expectations of the most sanguine. They have each evening become more and more crowded. The concluding addresses were delivered on Tuesday last, at the Assembly-rooms. Some time before the commencement of the lectures, the room was crowded in every part. J. W. Dowson, Esq., was called to the chair. He congratulated the meeting, not so much on the numbers assembled, which in itself was highly gratifying, but on the Christian temper and spirit which had been manifested in that room; he trusted that to the end they would continue in the same course. He then called on the Rev. T. A. Wheeler to address the meeting on "The practical difficulties and inconsistencies involved in the working of the establishment principle," which he did at great length. Mr. Frederick Pigg followed, gathering up some of the conclusions of the previous lecturers, and enforcing them by such considerations as are suggested by the present state of society, and the present aspect of the State-church question. Mr. Tillett, after a few energetic remarks, moved the following resolutions, which were unanimously carried by acclamation:—

That this meeting is deeply convinced that the establishment, or endowment, by the State, of any religious sect, is unscriptural, unjust, and inexpedient.

That the establishment or endowment by the State, of conflicting sects of religion in various parts of these dominions, indicates that the legislature has in such measures been influenced more by considerations of State policy, than by any concern for the propagation of truth.

That the adoption of compulsory means for the maintenance of religion, implies a distrust of its inherent power and energy, a disregard of the principles and practice of the Apostolical churches—and an ignorance of the fact, that Christianity flourished most when all secular power was opposed to it, and its sole earthly support was the zeal and free will of the people.

That the alliance between the Church and the State has subverted the independence of the Church, and deprived it of the power of self-government. That the appointment of its Bishops and Ministers is vested in the hands of Politicians, Corporate Bodies, and Patrons, without regard to their religious opinions or characters.

That the most sacred calling is openly made a matter of bargain and sale. That the system of pluralities and clerical non-residence prevails to a very great extent, and mostly amongst those in the highest stations in the church.

That these and many other gross abuses, arising entirely out of the connexion between the Church and the State, must be a source of grief to all good men, whether in or out of the Church.

That the only sufficient remedy for all these evils and inconsistencies, is to be found in the entire abandonment by the State, of all interference with the religion of the people, for which great result this meeting will earnestly strive, by the adoption of all such means as shall be consistent with a Christian spirit, and a due regard to individual interests.

Mr. A. Reed moved a vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturers; he also adverted to the Government system of education, recently propounded, and invited

their earnest and speedy adoption to the scheme, as it was shortly to be brought before Parliament, and would need the strenuous resistance of all friends of religious liberty. Mr. T. Scott seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried. We learn from our contemporary that the question is not likely to rest here. Mr. John Gladstone, a clergyman of Norwich, has announced that he will be happy to defend the principles he holds in "a friendly discussion," with the supporters of the Religious Liberty Society. Previously to the *soirée* in St. Andrew's Hall, a conference is to be held at the Assembly-rooms, in the forenoon of March 31st, of ministers and gentlemen, for the purpose of meeting the deputation from London, and arranging measures for the advancement of the cause in that district of the kingdom.

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.—STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERIES AND NEWCASTLE UNDER-LINE.—This very populous and rapidly advancing district has been frequently referred to, both by some "leading Dissenters" and Churchmen, as exemplifying to a lamentable degree the alleged lack of provision for the religious and educational wants of the people. This charge may justly be regarded as arising from the ignorance of the parties preferring it, rather than from that of those against whom it has been preferred. If it has been allowed to obtain any appearance of truthfulness, that has arisen from the fact that the parties injured have regarded "studying to be quiet and to do their own business," as a wiser course than that of attending to morbid and acrimonious "papers" read on great public occasions as to the construction or demolition of any evanescent paper or parchment scheme whatsoever. Now, however, in view of recent events it has been judged necessary that they should adopt some more simultaneous and systematic course of action than they have hitherto pursued. For this purpose a society has been formed, to be called "The Potteries and Newcastle Anti-state-church Association." The fundamental principle and leading objects of this society coincide with those announced by the British Anti-state-church Association. All the Independent ministers of the district, viz., Messrs. W. Chambers, Newcastle; S. B. Schofield, Burslem; J. Fletcher, Hanley; R. Macbeth, Shelton; and S. Jones, Lane-end, have cheerfully co-operated in the formation of the society. The most influential members of the Independent, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches have manifested their readiness for active co-operation. It is also expected that a large proportion of the several Methodist congregations will connect themselves with the movement; and as it is the desire and intention of the friends of the society that its proceedings be conducted with such stedfast consistency, and at the same time with such tender regard for the amenities of Christian life as shall accord with the value and dignity of the principles they advocated, it is confidently hoped that the friends of civil and religious rights in other parts of the country will find in this Association a body of valuable and efficient "fellow-workers."—*From a Correspondent.*

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—On Thursday week Dr. Cox, of Hackney, delivered a lecture, at Tottenham-court-road Chapel, on the Antagonism of State Establishments of Religion to Scriptural Christianity. There was a large and respectable attendance. Dr. Jenkyn, of Coward College, commenced with a suitable prayer, and Mr. Richardson, minister, presided; and, on Wednesday last, Mr. Burnett lectured at the Tabernacle, Moorfields. The subject was, "Church Property National Property." There was a very large audience.

CHURCH-RATES, ST. PETER'S PARISH, SUDSBURY.—The churchwardens, having collected their rates of such as thought proper to pay on demand (they generally leave about one-third of the rate uncollected), about six months since presented as defaulters six members of the Society of Friends, with two Dissenters, who had boldly refused to smother their convictions of the anti-Protestant and antichristian nature of this tax. The magistrates treated the matter with their usual disregard to the conduct of the churchwardens in passing by several defaulters, whose sole objection is a pecuniary one, and prosecuting those who object to the payment from a belief that such payment is opposed to the religious principles they hold. The Mayor, however (G. W. Fulcher), treated the appellants to a violent tirade against factious opposition to church-rates, and repeated for their edification, *verbatim*, from the "Churchwarden's Guide," a whole charge of Baron Gurney! This week the constables have been sent forth armed with sufficient "warrant," and have made their disclaims on the goods and chattels of these Nonconformists. The churchwardens left it entirely to their men to do according to their will; and the following statement shows the manner in which they have proceeded:—Taken from Mr. Hunter, Independent, 283 yards of calico, value £3 15s. 11d., for a rate of £1 4s.; from Mr. John Mays, Independent, 5 butts of leather, value £5 17s., for a rate of 13s. 3d.; from J. R. Oxley, tea and lozenges, value £4 2s., for a rate of 15s.; from Mr. J. Wright, ledgers and account books, value £6 10s., for a rate of £2 7s.; from Messrs. Bass and Brom, 24 dozen of candles, value £7 10s.; from Mr. E. Wright, 87lbs. loaf sugar, value £2 18s., for a rate of £1 6s. These goods were sold by auction by a Mr. Tattersall, an auctioneer from Clare, no auctioneer in Sudbury being willing to come forward to aid in this crusade against conscience. The proceedings have caused much excitement in the town; and, if the Dissenters generally would come forward as they ought in support of their principles, there is little doubt the respectable Churchmen would soon settle the matter by a voluntary subscription to defray the necessary trifling expenses of their place of worship.—*From a Correspondent.*

CHURCH-RATE.—We hear that several parties, being satisfied of the illegality of the late rate, are ready to take the consequence of their refusal to pay it. A fund has been raised for the purpose of defraying the costs incurred by such refusal, and the churchwarden will have the opportunity of proving whether the rate be good or bad.—*Aylesbury News.*

THE GERMAN CATHOLICS.—I sincerely regret to say, that the chief elder of Czarski's flock at Schneidemühl

has been here, and that their union with Ronze's party has now been finally consummated. There is not at present one single flock among the late seceders from Rome in this country, which has adhered to the faith of the Gospel, excepting that called "the Apostolic Catholic," under the Rev. Dr. Jettner, in this city, which, I am happy to say, has much increased, and continues to receive constant accessions. The union between the German Catholics and the infidel Friends of Light is at hand, and a direct motion to that effect was brought forward at the synod recently held at Magdeburg.—*Letter from Berlin.*

THE SECESSIONS FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND to the Roman Catholic faith during the last eighteen months have amounted to upwards of seventy, of which by far the larger proportion were clergymen.

A PLURALIST.—By the death of the Rev. E. S. Thurlow, on the 17th ult., the following valuable preferments became vacant:—A prebendal stall at Norwich; the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, valued at £2,157 per annum—patron, the Lord Bishop of Durham; the vicarage of Stamfordham, Northumberland, annual value £574—patron, the Lord Chancellor; the sinecure rectories of Eastyn, Flintshire, annual value £520, and Llandrillo, Merionethshire, value £197, both in the patronage of the Bishop of St. Asaph. The deceased possessor of these benefices was nephew of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, and was appointed Prebendary of Norwich in 1788, rector of Houghton, Eastyn, and Landrillo in 1789, and vicar of Stamfordham in 1792.—*Globe.*

THE TABLES TURNED UPON A VICAR.—The Puseyite vicar of North Shields had the tables very *ilegantly* turned upon him on Sunday. For some time past he has hindered the churchwardens from taking collections for any purposes, in the Church—and during the cold weather, when they wanted a collection, they have had to stand, barehead, outside the church, to receive it. On Sunday he read the Queen's letter; and after doing so, marched up to the altar and commenced reading the offertory, expecting that the worshipful the churchwardens would go about and take a collection on behalf of the poor Irish: but, no! they struck; and after exhausting his subject he made a solemn pause, and then pronounced the benediction: the congregation departing with anything but solemn phizés.—*From our Correspondent.*

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

TEN HOURS BILL.

On Wednesday, the order of the day having been read for going into committee on the Factory Bill, Mr. BICKHAM ESCOTT moved as an amendment, "That the House do go into committee on that day six months." He declared that an eleven hours bill, into which this was to be converted, would not satisfy the working people, but would only be the vantage ground whence to continue the agitation for an eight hours, or even a six hours bill.

The amendment gave rise to a debate of some length, in which the usual arguments were re-produced with considerable emphasis, but without much novelty in themselves.

Mr. BECKETT advocated an eleven hours bill, as a concession to the working classes which would not entail serious injury on the manufacturers.

Mr. WARD argued, that the bill was decidedly against the interest of the working classes. There was not a man amongst them who would take a ten hours bill with ten hours' wages. All the efforts of their voluntary trades unions showed that their object was restricted time without reduction of wages. But if the reduction were made, let the experiment be decided: go even to the extent of an eight hours bill.

Mr. BROTHERTON said the question was, whether females from thirteen to eighteen, and upwards, ought to be compelled to work in a heated atmosphere for twelve hours a day. He declared that the working classes desired the restriction, but could not effect it by voluntary agreement, on account of individual dissent. Mr. Brotherton touched the feelings by repeating a statement he had made some years ago, that, when he was a boy, he had himself been acquainted with this wearisome toil, had resolved to endeavour to obtain shorter time, and was proud to say that he still retained the feelings of his boyhood.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM was proud to sit in the House on terms of equality with a gentleman who had risen from the humblest classes of society by honest industry and unblemished character; but he reminded Mr. Brotherton that he had attained his success in life through long hours. The question was not, whether women should be compelled to work twelve hours a day or not, but whether industrious men should be restrained from working twelve hours a day when they desired to do it. The bill would affect the four staple articles of manufacture—cotton, woollen, linen, and silk. In 1846, the total amount of the exports was £51,279,735 declared value; out of which the cotton, linen, and woollen manufactures amounted to £37,385,000, being about four-fifths of the whole of the exports. That amount showed a decrease, as compared with the previous year, of about fifteen per cent. The price of food is higher; and at such a juncture is it that it is proposed, for the first time in the history of our manufactures, to limit the running of machinery in those four branches of manufacture. The manufacturers must do something to retrieve themselves: machinery would be improved; but, in order to that end, old machinery must be cast out of use, the newest only retained, and newer devised at the cost of great outlay to the manufacturers, whose leases had been executed on the supposition that the standing machinery would run for a certain time. Sir James pointed out various admissions in Sir George Grey's speech in the previous debate, such as that the bill would reduce wages, &c.

Sir GEORGE GREY repudiated the full meaning imputed to those admissions: for instance, the bill would tend to reduce wages, but there might be other influences called into play which would have an opposite effect. He should prefer eleven hours to ten; but if the House should decide in Committee in favour of ten hours, he should still cordially vote for the bill.

Lord MORPETH spoke in favour of the bill; and cited experiments in the mills of Mr. James Marshall of Leeds, showing that his machinery had worked only sixty-four hours a week, and that the produce was only a half per cent. less than that of sixty-six hours. Lord Morpeth would vote for a limitation to eleven hours; but, could not share the confidence of Sir George Grey and vote for a further limitation [great laughter].

Lord GEORGE BENTINCK contended for granting that which the working classes demanded by common consent.

Mr. MILNER GIBSON addressed himself to the task of exposing various defects and inconsistencies in the arguments for the bill. It was proposed to give compulsory leisure to certain persons; but there they stopped, without taking any security for the way in which the leisure should be employed in order to that moral and physical advantage which they professed to aim at. He for one must positively decline to share in the responsibility of this measure. It is said that the Factory Bill is to guard the operative from the tyranny of the capitalist: it must lead to some loss; and if the capitalist is stronger than the operative, he would soon have it in his power to shift the loss entirely on the working classes. Mr. Ferrand said that the working classes were unanimously determined to have the measure: if so, why not secure its objects at once by combinations amongst themselves? He would not vote for any piece of rash legislation calculated to impede the progress of society.

Viscount EBRINGTON spoke in favour of interference on behalf of children and women, but deprecated interfering with adult men.

Sir ROBERT PEEL, who rose at half-past five, promised to speak for a very short time, leaving space for another speaker on the opposite side; but he warmed with his subject, and, with the manifest concurrence of the House, filled up the whole of the remaining half-hour. He had sometimes excited a smile, he observed, when, as First Minister of the Crown, he had said that three courses were open to him: Lord John Russell has succeeded to his position in that respect—with this difference, that he had a colleague established in each of the several courses! Mr. Labouchere was against extended interference with labour; Sir George Grey would vote for eleven hours, and even for ten hours; Lord Morpeth would vote for eleven, but would rather vote against the bill than for ten hours. It is a difficult mathematical problem to determine at what point a body will rest when it is exposed to the attraction of three great bodies at the same time; at what point would Lord John Russell take his final repose? Replying to some animadversions of Lord George Bentinck on the free-trade measures, Sir Robert Peel quoted figures to prove their perfect success. The exports of the country have decidedly advanced—from £47,000,000 in 1842 to £60,000,000 in 1845; and though there was a slight reaction in 1846, he challenged any one to show him a time at which, with so high a price of food, the country had exhibited so buoyant a revenue, such popular contentment and submission to the law under privations, such a feeling of confidence in all classes under fluctuations and difficulties. The reason is, that the people are convinced that no arbitrary regulations and restrictions are responsible for the high price of food, or for their difficulties. Had such a calamity as the failure of the potato occurred with restrictions on the importation of corn, what might not have been the consequence? Sir Robert argued against the bill on the broad ground that it is not for the interest of the working-classes. He was prepared to argue it on the broadest ground, that of the Italian economists, who reproach our political economists with discussing only the accumulation of wealth, regardless of its distribution. What are the three securities for the present state of things? Our capital, machinery, and labour. Now we are exporting our machinery; there is nothing to prevent increased investment in foreign countries; facilities of locomotion and communication may enable the working man to seek employment abroad. There is no exclusive command over capital, machinery, or labour; and perhaps we are too apt to rely on our pre-eminent energy. Under such circumstances is it that you propose to restrict nominally the labour of women and children, but practically that of adult men. Labour is to be restricted to five days out of six. One argument for the measure almost tempted him to make the experiment; but on closer consideration it strengthened his conviction against it:—

If you could convince me that the present measure would tend to the moral and intellectual improvement, and the social welfare of the great labouring class, I confess I should be almost tempted to make the experiment, because I do feel that the point at which we ought all to strive, is to improve the condition and elevate the feelings of that class of society. I tell you it is not safe unless you do it. You are giving these classes intellectual improvement; and unless you remove every law inconsistent with that intelligence, the institutions of the country will be in danger, especially in the event of a calamity occurring in this country such as is now desolating Ireland. I tell you, that if your legislation is found to restrict, to diminish, or to interfere with the comforts of the working classes, then their intellectual improvement will become a source of danger. I feel that we should all work at this point; and, whether it is by the improvement of the sanitary condition of the people, or in any other way, that we should do all in our power to increase the enjoyments and improve the character of the working classes. I firmly believe, as you do, that the source of the future peace, happiness, and prosperity of this country, lies in the improvement, religious as well as moral, of the different classes of society. But it is in thus advocating the elevation of the people that I oppose these restrictions. Sir, I do not deny the advantage of leisure; but of this I am perfectly convinced, that the real way to improve the condition of the labourer, and to elevate the character of the working classes of this country, is to give them a command over the necessities of life.

He believed that the bill would force the manufacturers, in order to compete with foreign rivalry, to increase the efficiency and speed of their machinery; thus putting a greater strain than ever on the faculties of the working man. As to the reduction in wages, let wages be called "income," let any deduction from them be an "income-tax," and then ask what would be the effect of an income-tax to the extent of one-sixth; curtailing the

receipts of industry, and depriving the working man of the opportunity to lay by a surplus for evil times:—

I would have the father of a family at liberty to imitate the example of the honourable member for Salford, and by his praiseworthy industry lay the foundation of a fortune which hundreds have acquired [cheers]. Why, Sir, I could name a dozen cases, and I have no doubt they are all familiar to the honourable member, of men who were once living upon 20s. or 25s. a week, but who now possess fortunes of £100,000. But who is to answer for the result, if you paralyze the efforts of such men by your legislation?

The House divided; and the amendment was negatived by 190 to 100. But it being already past six o'clock, the House adjourned without going into Committee.

EMIGRATION.

On Thursday, Mr. V. SMITH moved the following resolution:—

That, in order to assist and encourage voluntary emigration to the colonies, it is expedient to increase the importance and authority of the Land and Emigration Board, to add to their agency in Great Britain and Ireland, and promote their vigilant superintendence of the passage and future location of the emigrants.

In order to facilitate the extension of voluntary emigration, he desired to extend the sphere of action of the Land and Emigration Board, to increase its efficiency, to enlarge and strengthen its agency, and to promote emigration, by facilitating the passage of emigrants across the ocean, and superintending their location on their arrival in any of the colonies. He suggested that the Emigration Board should have a Parliamentary representative, and that adequate information should be afforded to intended emigrants at the commencement of each emigration season, and trusted that the Government was prepared to give effect to the plan for emigration which they themselves had, on a former occasion, proposed.

The motion was supported by Mr. MACKINNON, Mr. LEFROY, Mr. KERR, and Mr. SMITH O'BRIEN. Mr. O'BRIEN advised that, when emigrants are sent out, ample provision should be made for administering to their religious wants, according to their persuasion; and he asked what Government *would* do to aid emigration? Dr. BOWRING called for a declaration as to the extent to which responsible government would be carried into effect. [For answer, Mr. HAWES referred him to Lord John Russell's general declaration last year in favour of giving the colonies control over their own affairs.] Sir WALTER JAMES said that, if Government did not resort to some large plan of emigration, there would be no resource for the starving Irish but to lie down and die.

Mr. G. W. HOPE opposed the motion, pleading lack of "the sinews of war."

Three of the Ministers also opposed it—Mr. HAWES, Lord JOHN RUSSELL, and Mr. CHARLES BULLER. Mr. HAWES said, that the Board was not intended to promote the *spirit* of emigration, but to give assistance and advice, to remove impediments and difficulties where parties emigrated of their own accord. He maintained the efficiency of the Board; under its superintendence, 48,000 persons have emigrated to the Australian Colonies in ten years; and from 1837 to 1846, no fewer than 850,000 persons left this country. Mortality in emigrant-ships has greatly decreased; the migration of Coolies from India and of Africans from Sierra Leone has been conducted with a decreasing ratio of mortality. Such emigration is not *colonization*—he did not speak of that—the Board was not constituted to undertake that. He wished he could speak of colonization definitely; but it depends upon sufficiency of funds. Its first and great elements are free institutions and good government; and in that direction a beginning has been made in New Zealand. Not wishing to meet the motion by a direct negative, he moved "the previous question."

Lord JOHN RUSSELL replied to Mr. Smith O'Brien's inquiries. Government possesses no means of forming an estimate as to the number of emigrants that could be safely located in the North American Colonies. It was not the intention of Government to pay the passage-money of emigrants in any case—it ought to be carried on by landlords, or by the friends of the parties wishing to emigrate. As much as £100,000 had been sent from the United States last year for that purpose. In the Colonies, Lord John Russell said, there is a feeling against emigration. To apply any additional stimulus at present, would only add to the general distress, and might have the effect of inundating the Colonies with labour which they do not want.

Mr. CHARLES BULLER did not deny that improvements might be effected in the machinery of the Emigration Board; but the difficulties of colonization did not lie there. The great difficulties now are, the imperfect state of colonial governments, the utter impossibility of getting any land-fund to defray the cost of emigration, and the want of any effectual control over waste lands, alienated in the most lavish manner by past Governments. To commence the reform of our emigration system by reforming the board, would only at present be to unfit it for those functions which it was now competent to discharge. The real way in which properly to promote emigration, and to render our colonies worthy of the country to which they belong, was to concede to every body of Englishmen who went out as colonists to any part of the world the right of self-government, as well as to establish in every colony a sound system for the disposal of land.

The motion was then, by leave, withdrawn.

CRACOW.—STOPPAGE OF THE RUSSIAN SUBSIDY.

On Thursday, Mr. HUME moved the following resolutions:—

1. That this House, considering the faithful observance of the general act of Congress, or Treaty of Vienna, of the 9th day of June, 1815, as the basis of the peace and welfare of Europe, views with alarm and indignation the incorporation of the free city of Cracow, and of its territory, into the empire of Austria, by virtue of a convention entered into at Vienna, on the 6th day of November, 1846, by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in manifest violation of the said treaty.

2. That it appears, by returns laid before Parliament, that there has already been paid from the British Treasury, towards the principal and for the interest of the debt called

the Russo-Dutch loan, between the years 1816 and 1846, both inclusive, the sum of 40,493,750 florins, equal to £3,374,479 sterling money; and that the liquidation of the principal and interest of the remaining part of the loan, as stipulated by the act of 2nd and 3rd William IV., cap. 81, will require further annual payments from the British Treasury, until the year 1915, amounting to 47,006,250 florins, equal to £3,917,187 sterling money—making, then, the aggregate payment £7,291,666; and the average, for each of the hundred years, of £72,916.

3. That the convention of the 16th of November, 1831, between His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland and the Emperor of all the Russias, was made to explain the stipulations of the treaty between Great Britain, Russia, and the Netherlands, signed at London on the 19th day of May, 1815, and included in the treaty of Vienna; and by that convention it was agreed by Great Britain "to secure to Russia the payment of a portion of her old Dutch debt, in consideration of the general arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, to which she had given her adhesion—arrangements which remain in full force."

That this House is, therefore, of opinion that Russia having withdrawn that adhesion, and those arrangements being, through her act, no longer in force, the payments from this country on account of that debt should be henceforth suspended.

He reminded the House, that he had done so at the close of last session, when the free state of Cracow was occupied by Russian and Austrian troops. Lord PALMERSTON then assured the House that the occupation was to be only temporary, and begged them not to believe any statements to the contrary. In the House of Lords, the Duke of WELLINGTON expressed equal confidence in his own allies and friends. At the opening of this session, the Queen made a declaration that the treaty of Vienna had been violated by the extinction of Cracow. Mr. HUME quoted the diplomatic correspondence on the subject; criticizing it as he went, and showing the falsehood of the Austrian share in it. Lord PALMERSTON "protested;" but what would men who could so violate their sacred honour and engagements care for a protest? England is pledged not to sanction these unholy robberies. No one had made such sacrifices as this country to promote the objects of the treaty: it had cost her £600,000,000. The Three Powers had violated it repeatedly, and now it is destroyed; and with it the arrangements of the peace. The partition of Poland is no longer legal, the parties to it having violated the stipulations; every state is free from its obligations; he had no hesitation in saying that the people even of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, are absolved from their allegiance. One stipulation of the treaty was the payment, by England, of the Russo-Dutch loan. That stipulation was continued in the convention in 1831, "in consideration of the general arrangements at the Congress of Vienna." Russia has violated one article of the treaty: let England refuse to execute another. On that point Mr. HUME quoted Vatel. By refusing payment of the interest on the Russo-Dutch loan, England would give an earnest that she did not remain quiescent under the infraction of the treaty.

Lord SANDON seconded the motion. He quoted further correspondence, to show that the Three Powers, and especially Prussia, had distinctly recognized the necessity of referring to England before disturbing the arrangement of Cracow. He proved, from the history of the Congress of Vienna, that, so far from being a separate arrangement between the Three Powers, the settlement of Poland formed the most critical point in the discussion between the representatives of all the Powers. Lord SANDON intimated that he was not quite confident in the grounds which made him disposed to concur in the fourth resolution.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL opposed the motion; stating his general view on the subject. He did not admit that the arrangement respecting Poland was anything but a constituent and important part of the treaty. The mere size of the independent state was of no moment, as the object was to retain for some part of the Polish nation a separate existence. As to the allegation that Cracow was "a focus of conspiracy," it is of no force, because the Three Powers perfectly surround the territory, and could easily prevent any danger. He could not but suspect that the "disorganization" imputed to Cracow was not unwelcome. All the reasons for the course taken by the Three Powers seemed to him to be inadequate. With respect, however, to Mr. HUME's resolutions, the House would remember that it is the prerogative of the Crown to manage foreign relations and to make treaties. If treaty of commerce or of subsidy is signed, requiring the intervention of Parliament, it is usual to ask the concurrence of Parliament; but for the House to affirm a resolution merely declaring an opinion on a matter which is not thus brought by necessity before the House, is not the correct or regular course of proceeding. It is not necessary, in the ordinary course of foreign affairs, that the House should at all interfere or declare its opinion on these subjects. It would not do to declare an opinion without following up the resolution by some action on the part of the Executive Government; and, for that reason, he had never admired the annual declarations in the French Chambers with regard to Poland. In respect of the loan, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, it is not clear that the violation in respect of Cracow releases this country from the payment: the law-officers of the Crown think that, according to the *spirit* of the arrangement under the convention of 1831, the sum ought to be paid. According to the letter of the agreement, perhaps, in a court of law, such a plea might be urged to get rid of a contract: but England was not used to avail herself of such advantages; to refuse payment as a revenge for the violation of treaties—to reduce it to a mere question of money value—would lower the position of this country; and he exhorted the House to continue its acquiescence in Lord PALMERSTON's protest.

Let us be able to say that we have sought no interest of England in this matter. We have not looked to any interest, either large or petty, in regard to ourselves; we have regarded the great interests of Europe; we have desired that the settlement which put an end to a century of bloodshed should remain in full force and vigour. We have declared that sentiment to the world; and we trust that the reprobation with which this transaction has been met will, in future, lead all powers, whoever they may be, who may be induced to violate treaties, to consider that they will meet with the disinterested protest of England, so that her

character shall stand before the world untarnished by any act of her own [great cheering].

Some dispute arose as to the adjournment of the debate; Mr. HUME and his supporters pressing for the next evening. Lord JOHN RUSSELL pleaded for Government business on the Government night, and Sir ROBERT PEEL took his part. Then Tuesday was proposed; but, as the paper for that day was very full, it was ultimately arranged that the adjournment should stand for Thursday next.

CONVICT DISCIPLINE.—ABANDONMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.

In the House of Lords, on Friday night, Earl GREY moved the second reading of two bills,—the first, a bill for assimilating the law of Ireland to that of England with respect to the transportation of convicts; the second, a bill to amend the administration of the three national prisons, Pentonville, Milbank, and Parkhurst. These bills are accessory to the total and immediate change in the system of transportation, which Lord Grey explained. It was more amplified in some parts, especially those parts where he glanced at previous inquiries into the system of transportation—at the endeavours which had been made to render its continuance possible, by abolishing assignment, and other alterations—and at its suspension and revival in 1843. The evils inherent in the system have continued under all its forms, and hence the determination finally to abolish it. Lord Grey's account of the intended arrangements may be briefly described as follows:—

Transportation, as a punishment, will be totally abolished in respect of men. The law and practice in regard to passing sentence of transportation will not be meddled with, nor will it at present be necessary to obtain an act for altering the mode of carrying the sentence into execution. Government having the power to retain the prisoners at home, as they did before 1843, when confinement in the hulks was substituted for actual deportation. The convicts will be subjected to separate confinement in the prisons of the United Kingdom, for periods averaging one year, and not exceeding eighteen months; they will then be employed on a penal class of public works; finally, they will be pardoned conditionally, the condition being their exile from this country for the remaining term of the original sentence.

Lord Grey stated that the period for granting the pardon would mainly depend upon the conduct of the prisoner, but would probably be granted when about half the term of sentence should have expired. Excepting in the fact of his exclusion from the United Kingdom, the prisoner would be absolutely free. He would be permitted to go to the British colonies; but Lord Grey strongly deprecated the notion that this migration was to be considered as part of the punishment. It would, in fact, secure to the reformed culprit a field of exertion in which he would begin with a new character. Government will not pay the passage-money for the convict; but the cost will be defrayed out of his accumulated earnings on the public works, which will be duly set down to his credit. The family of the convict will be allowed to emigrate with him.

It has been calculated by all the officers consulted, that labour of the convicts would reimburse the State for the expense of their maintenance and superintendence. A system of labour will be devised for the class. In the first instance, no doubt, the hulks must be used, but they form very imperfect prisons, and a new plan is in preparation. Large numbers of the convicts will be employed on the quarries in the Isle of Portland; a place which affords very suitable employment, and is very convenient for their custody. Large wooden buildings are in preparation as receptacles for the convicts; they will be moveable, so that they may be transferred to different places; and the labour of the convicts will be made available in the construction of fortifications and the formation of harbours of refuge.

A few observations were made by other peers on this statement.

Lord BROUHAM expressed great satisfaction at Lord Grey's speech; but suggested the policy of partially retaining transportation—for offenders of the upper classes, to whom it is really a punishment; and he playfully anticipated divers difficulties in the working details of the plan. Lord STANLEY doubted the policy of abolishing transportation, the secondary punishment most dreaded by hardened offenders; the only substitute must be a system of imprisonment of a kind against which the feelings of this country would revolt; and the system of public works would interfere with the labour of the honest workman. Lord DENMAN rejoiced at the breaking up of the Norfolk Island establishment, but viewed with dismay the total abolition of transportation as a punishment. The Duke of RICHMOND also hoped that so vast a change would receive the most deliberate consideration.

The bills were read a second time.

On Monday the subject was renewed by Lord BROUHAM, who moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the subject of the criminal law, more particularly with respect to its operation upon and treatment of juvenile offenders.

Lord STANLEY took advantage of this motion to call the attention of the Secretary of the Colonies again to the subject of such proposed alterations in our penal system as regarded criminals on whom sentence of transportation should hereafter pass. He was, if possible, more strongly impressed than ever with the danger and inconvenience of the scheme of punishment proposed by her Majesty's Government to supersede the former system of transportation. The commutation of punishment was a prerogative of the Crown, a prerogative proposed in this instance to a length which he could not but think was a great abuse of it.

Earl GREY repeated what he had said on Friday, to the effect that, under the system proposed to be superseded, convicts sentenced to transportation, when the time did not extend beyond seven years, were in a great many instances retained in the country, at hard labour in the hulks, so that the change now meditated by the Government was not so violent a one as it might at first sight be supposed to be.

Lord BROUHAM doubted the competency of the Crown, after sentence of transportation had been passed upon any criminal, to imprison him for any period in this country, and afterwards to remove him from the country by a species of expatriation.

The Marquis of LANSDOWNE said that the Crown, in commuting the sentence of transportation, as proposed by the new scheme of punishment, would not be putting upon that sentence an interpretation which it was incompetent to put upon it.

After a little further conversation the motion was agreed to.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE IRISH POOR.—TILLAGE OF THE LAND.

In the House of Commons, on Friday, on the motion to go into a committee of supply on the Ordnance Estimates,

Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL brought forward a project by which the people now engaged on the public works in Ireland should be employed under Government in the tillage of the land. He estimated the additional cost at two or three millions sterling; but declared that outlay to be absolutely necessary, and productive of returns, which the public works are not; and he suggested that it might be provided for by making the absentee landlords contribute. He also suggested a strong resolution calling on the landed proprietors to return to Ireland, at least for this year.

Mr. LABOUCHERE showed that the proposal would be impracticable. Government is employing 700,000 persons on the public works; a measure has just passed to provide food for the people, and thus labour would be set free; but nothing could be more mischievous than Government's undertaking to cultivate the soil.

The project did not obtain much support: it was emphatically opposed by Mr. SHAW and Mr. BELLEW. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, without arguing the matter, thought it necessary to declare, in the most explicit terms, that the Government was determined not to adopt either of the propositions of Mr. John O'Connell.

No motion was made, and the conversation dropped.

THE ORDNANCE AND NAVY ESTIMATES.

The House having gone into Committee, Colonel ANSON brought forward the Ordnance Estimates. The amount for the current year is £2,679,127; being an increase of £135,558. Among the details, the principal facts stated were, that an addition of 1,200 men will be made to the Artillery corps; and that of the sum voted for fortifications and defensive works, £205,000, the greatest portion will be devoted, this year, not to the Colonies, but to this country.

Mr. WILLIAMS said—

He should perhaps do better in letting these estimates pass without remark, as the hon. member for Montrose did last year. They were called on to vote several millions, and during the greater part of the hon. and gallant gentleman's statement there were only twenty-nine members in the House [hear]. This proved how little interest was taken in the question, and how little encouragement there was for any one to point out what he conceived to be an uncalled-for expenditure. The hon. and gallant officer had referred to the estimates of former years, and explained the increase by the new services that had been thrown upon the Ordnance department. In 1834, the estimate was £1,068,000; in 1835, £1,151,000; in 1840, £1,893,000. Now, in 1840 England was engaged in the Chinese war, and had the largest naval force afloat she had had in any year since the peace; we had not less than seventeen sail of the line in the Mediterranean, all to be equipped from the Ordnance department. He now asked the hon. and gallant gentleman the same question he had put to the Secretary at War,—what was the necessity for this great increase? He objected to the increase in the estimates for the artillery. This was, no doubt, an important branch of the service, and one which it was incumbent on them to have always in a most efficient state; but the estimate was much higher this year than it had been during twenty years, and some account should be given of the causes which had led to this change. He thought that difficulties would never cease to present themselves to the House when called upon to assent to the different estimates, if that rule which prevailed in France and in the United States were not adopted in England—if a committee of inquiry were not appointed to examine into and report upon every separate item.

Dr. BOWRING expressed his dissatisfaction with the mode in which the accounts were presented, and hoped that this would be the last occasion on which they would appear in such a form.

The whole of the votes were passed *seriatim*.

The House then proceeded with the remainder of the navy estimates.

Sir H. DOUGLAS wished to provide a reserve of seamen. The French Government, he observed, had sacrificed nothing to principles of venal economy; there was no country in which greater sacrifices had been made to keep up a navy, and never, in the most flourishing times of the French naval power, was it equal to what it was now. Since 1841, upwards of £4,000,000 sterling had been expended in fortifying the ports of France; the most formidable of all was Cherbourg. Parliament and the Government would be neglecting what was necessary for the defence of the country if they overlooked these facts. Though determined to commit no aggrandizement upon any other power, if another power made an aggression upon us, we ought to be in a condition to cause our first blow to be felt.

Dr. BOWRING said, if the hon. and gallant officer had read the official documents attentively, he must have known that there was no power in the French navy to cope with ours. The gallant general talked of the French navy as if it were equal with our own. Look at the finances of France; year after year there was a deficiency; the Government was involved in debt; its embarrassments were continually increasing; and the Minister did not dare to state to the Chambers the real condition of the finances. Look at the national credit of the two countries. Could any one contrast them without seeing that the condition of England was superior to that of France?

Mr. W. WILLIAMS observed that the jealousies and ill-will between France and England were produced by such observations as those upon the inferiority of the French navy compared with ours.

TAXATION OF PROPERTY IN IRELAND.

In the House of Commons, on Monday night, on the question that the Speaker leave the chair to go into committee on the Landed Property (Ireland) Bill, Mr. ROEBUCK asked Lord John Russell if, in the event of this measure (which was to be read a third time *pari passu* with the Poor Relief Bill) being altered or rejected, he would proceed with its fellow. Lord JOHN refused to answer.

Mr. ROEBUCK then proposed the resolution of which he had given notice, that any plans of relief for the dis-

tress of the Irish poor by means of loans to the owners of property in Ireland would be unjust and impolitic, unless accompanied by a system of taxation which would subject such property to the burdens already imposed upon all property throughout Great Britain.

The artisan, the landlord, and the merchant of England, all brought their quota, without grumbling, into the general Exchequer, for the purpose of its being expended in promoting the interests of the great nation called Great Britain and Ireland. Now, there was a great variety of taxes from which the Irish population were exempt, as, for instance, the assessed taxes, the taxes for the poor, and the income-tax. His object in bringing forward his present resolution was to test the stuff of which Irish members were made. If they talked to him of repeal, he would tell them to consider what repeal was in this season of real calamity. There was no talk about it now; they were all singing low, and their note was nothing but "Give, give." If that cuckoo cry was pressed upon England now, England might cut the chain which connected her with Ireland, and might cast Ireland adrift to be overwhelmed by the storm which was now sweeping over it. Leaving this topic, Mr. Roebuck informed the House that two Roman Catholic priests from that country had recently called upon him, and informed him that "the Irish party" did not represent the poor of Ireland, but the rich; and that it followed most closely the peculiar interests of those whom it represented. They told him, also, of several gentlemen of large property in the neighbourhood of Mallow, who had given nothing but the smallest trifles for the relief of the starving people in that vicinity. One of them kept seventy dogs, living on good meal and milk, whilst men were dying of starvation at his very gates. If he were told that the Irish landlord had been made what he was by the legislature, he could not deny it; but then he would add further, that the Irish landholder was a slaveholder, and that the chain of his oppression still galled, and rusted in the hearts of the Irish people. Till lately old feelings had kept up a rancour between the two countries; but that rancour, though extinct in England, was still extant in Ireland.

All that Englishmen wanted now was, that Irish landlords should do their duty, and should be compelled to mortgage their lands if they would not otherwise maintain the poor of their country. Perhaps it might be said, that this was not the time for such a resolution as he proposed, because the Irish landlords had not received their rents. He denied the fact, on the authority of a friend in that House, who informed him that Irish rents had been well received this year. There could be no mystery on such matters, for the *Times* newspaper was a grand Bude light cast upon all political combinations, exposing everything to public inspection except the secret workings of the hearts of Irish landlords and of English Cabinet Ministers. He told Lord John Russell that there was a peculiarity about his situation which demanded his consideration, as it had received the consideration of the public. His Cabinet was surrounded by Irish proprietors. There were the Marquises Lansdowne and Clanricarde in the Cabinet, and Lord Monteagle beating at the door to gain admission. There was Lord Palmerston capable of shaking Europe to its centre, and Lord Fitzwilliam, who came forward in support of the crack-brained project of Lord George Bentinck. There was also Lord Besborough, the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Now, was it proper and decent, when you had a narrow and exclusive administration formed of such ingredients, that they should tell Lord John Russell, in the face of the people of England, that they would not have a Poor-law for Ireland? Lord John Russell was a bold man; but there was no civil courage in his answer to his question of that night—"I cannot tell what I shall do if the Poor law is not carried." He could tell his lordship what the House would do in such a contingency—it would throw out both bills. The fact was, Ministers did not know their own policy from one hour to another, and the vessel in which they sailed, like the old Agamemnon, was only kept together by the surges of its opponents around it. He then showed, by reference to Sir R. Peel's conduct on the Income-tax, and on the Spirit-tax in Ireland, that he was very amenable to the people of England, and contended that Lord J. Russell must be made amenable to it also—for his present system would not do—and we must have a complete overturning of his present policy towards Ireland. The population of Ireland deserved the consideration of a great statesman, who could convert it into a self-supporting population like that of Great Britain. But the most preposterous mode of attempting such a conversion was to lavish criminally millions upon it.

A Minister ought not to pander to such a state of things. If he did so, the consequence would be that the terrible year of 1847 would be followed by the still more terrible year of 1848, and the result would be no less fatal to the resources of England than to those of Ireland. He warned the House that it would not be long before the nation, in its political capacity, would be called in to pass judgment on all these schemes. English members would have to answer this question from their constituents: "What have you done with our money?" and would they dare to reply, "We have thrown it away on the Irish poor, because the Irish proprietors would not give it to them from their resources?"

Mr. LABOUCHERE, after deprecating the acerbity of Mr. Roebuck's speech, urged the Irish members to direct their attention to the bill then before the House. As to the resolution itself, he was not going to deny that Ireland ought to bear its share of taxation with England; but it would be a singular decision for the house to adopt at this moment of distress, if it were to resolve that the property tax and the assessed taxes should be forthwith imposed upon Ireland. He denied that the Government had been criminally lavish in its expenditure on Ireland. He admitted that it was impossible for the Government to feed or employ the people of Ireland without producing great concomitant mischief, but without some such measures millions would have died of starvation; and that fearful alternative was his justification, and his sole justification, for proposing and supporting them. He then proceeded to defend Lord J. Russell's answer that evening to Mr. Roebuck. His lordship trusted that he should be able to pass that bill, and to send it *pari passu* with his other measures to the House of Peers.

Mr. SHAW strenuously opposed the motion.

Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL asked whether this was the time in which to extend the taxes alluded to Ireland, when the incomes of that country were curtailed by fully one-half, from the non-payment of rent? He would give the Poor Relief Bill his strongest support, but would endeavour, at the same time, to defeat certain amendments proposed to it, and seemingly favoured by the Government amendment, which, in his opinion, would go to nullify all the benefits proposed to be attained by the bill.

Mr. BAILLIE characterized Mr. Roebuck's scheme for the relief of Ireland as fallacious.

Mr. HUME did not see why there should not be an equality of taxation between the two countries.

Sir R. PEEL said that the proposition of the hon. and learned gentleman went to making the loan of a few hundred thousand pounds to certain proprietors the consideration of imposing the income-tax, and other taxes, upon the people of Ireland. This was compromising the real merits of the question. It was treating a problem of great magnitude in a very little way, and prejudicing the honourable and learned gentleman's own case, by mixing up with the financial question involved in this proposition such extraneous matter as it contained. He did not contest the principle of the resolution, but the whole subject which it involved was accompanied with difficulties, not insoluble, it was true, but such as were not to be met by any general resolution like this.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL explained that Government did not propose that these two bills should go together, on the ground that that more immediately under their consideration was conferring a boon upon the proprietors, and that whilst they were giving a boon by the one hand they would impose a burden by the other. It was most desirable that a large portion of the population of Ireland should find other employment than that now afforded them, and he knew of no better means of procuring them this than by encouraging the proprietors to improve their land. Now he doubted if this bill would have all the effect desired, if it were not accompanied by another measure, which provided for the compulsory maintenance of the starving poor in Ireland by the owners of property. It was upon this ground, and this alone, that it was proposed that both bills should go together.

The motion was supported by Mr. B. ESCOTT, Mr. W. S. CRAWFORD, and Mr. JAMES; opposed by Mr. W. S. O'BRIEN, Mr. CALLAGHAN, Lord G. BENTINCK, Mr. MILNES, and Mr. MUNNTZ.

Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD said—

The Irishman now claimed relief from England on the ground of a national calamity; but when he came before the people of England to claim relief, he could not, and would not shrink from the avowal that the Irish proprietors ought to bear the same taxation as the English [hear, hear]. He had rather the proposition had not been made at a time when there was so great a pressure upon Irish property, but when the question was whether he would affirm or deny the principle, he would say that he must affirm it. Under these circumstances, as an Irish landed proprietor seeking relief for his starving fellow-countrymen from England, he could not do other than support the motion [hear].

The House then divided, and the numbers were—

| | |
|---|-----|
| For the amendment | 26 |
| Against it | 121 |
| Majority for going into committee | 95 |

The House then went into committee on the bill, whereupon its various clauses passed through committee, and the CHAIRMAN reported to the House. The report to be brought up on Wednesday.

The committee on the Poor Relief (Ireland) Bill was then postponed till Friday.

MISCELLANEOUS.

RAILWAY ADMINISTRATION.—The following Standing Order was voted by the House of Commons on Wednesday, at the instance of Mr. STRUTT—

"That the committee on every Railway Bill shall fix the tolls, and shall determine the maximum rates of charge for the conveyance of passengers, with a due amount of luggage and of goods on such railway; and such rates of charge shall include the tolls and the cost of locomotive power, and every other expense connected with the conveyance of passengers, with a due amount of luggage and of goods, upon such railway, but if the Committee shall not deem it expedient to determine such maximum rates of charge, a special report explanatory of the grounds of their omitting so to do shall be made to the House, which special report shall accompany the report of the bill."

THE DESTITUTION IN IRELAND.—On Thursday, some questions drew from Mr. LABOUCHERE the statement of two important facts. The numbers employed on the relief works for the week ending Feb. 20, amounted to not fewer than 668,000 persons. In advancing seed, the Lord Lieutenant has come to the resolution to give seed for green crops only, and not for corn. In reply to Mr. Scrope, Sir G. GREY said a discretion had been vested in the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, giving him a power to make advances to prevent the workhouses being closed, but it was not intended to relieve the ratepayers from the payment of any rates in arrear. In the House of Lords, on Friday, in reply to Lord Radnor, the Marquis of LANSDOWNE stated, that the Government wished gradually to discontinue the public works, but found it impossible to do so on account of the increasing destitution in Ireland.

SMITHFIELD MARKET.—Mr. SPOONER, on behalf of Mr. Ormsby Gore, gave notice that he should postpone his motion respecting the removal of this market till Thursday, the 18th, when instead of moving for leave to bring in a bill, he should move for a select committee.

UNIVERSAL PEACE.—On Friday, Mr. HINDLEY presented a petition from the committee of the Society for Promoting Universal Peace [laughter]—stating that the only way to promote the safety of the nation was, by inculcating the principles of universal love and justice, and not by a blind reliance upon brute force [renewed laughter]. He entirely concurred in the prayer of the petition [cries of "Order, order," and laughter].

GAME-LAWS.—In reply to a question from Mr. J. Collett, in the House of Commons on Thursday, wishing to ascertain whether it was the intention of the Government during the session to introduce any bill for the alteration of the game laws, Sir G. GREY said, that the subject was under consideration.

PUNISHMENT BY DEATH.—On Monday, Mr. REDHEAD YORK presented a petition, signed by 800 influential persons in the city of York, praying for the abolition of the punishment by death.

ABOLITION OF RATE-PAYING CLAUSES.—Mr. T. S.

DUNCOMBE on Monday gave notice, that after Easter he should move the following resolution :—

"Whereas, an act which was passed in the reign of his late Majesty, William the Fourth, intituled, an Act for Amending the Representation of the People of England and Wales, has failed to fulfil the just and lawful expectations of the people, and such an act ought not, and cannot, be final; and it is expedient to amend the same, by a repeal of the rate-paying clauses in that act, and by the insertion of provisions calculated to prevent any undue influence being exercised in boroughs or counties, whereby the representation of the people may be prejudiced."

THE RAJAH OF SATTARA.—Mr. HUME also gave notice that, on Thursday next, he would move that there be laid on the table of the House certain despatches now in the secret office of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, relative to the ex-Rajah of Sattara.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.—Lord PALMERSTON, on Monday night, stated, in reply to Mr. HUME, that it certainly was not the intention of Government to repeal the act of 1845, relating to the Brazils, and making the slave-trade piracy, until Brazil concluded an amicable act of treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade, as a substitute for the measure in question.

GRANTS TO SCOTLAND.—In reply to a question, Sir G. GREY said the Government had intimated that they would make grants equal in amount to the local subscriptions raised with the view of mitigating the distress in those parts.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

PORUGAL.

An overland despatch from Oporto announces the total loss of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's steam-ship, Tiber, about twelve miles from Oporto. Captain Bingham, who commanded the Tiber, in endeavouring to make Oporto in a dreadful fog which has overhung this coast for the last three days, unfortunately ran his ship on shore at a point of land near Villa de Conde, about twelve miles from this. No want of diligence or skill can be imputed to the captain, as he kept the most active look-out, and fired guns repeatedly when he judged he was in this neighbourhood. The last time he cast the lead he found he had seventeen fathoms, and he supposed he was off this bar a moment before he struck. "The event took place soon after noon this day (Feb. 21), and before an hour elapsed the ship broke up and became a total wreck. The Gallegos, in endeavouring to lower the ship's boats, stove them all, and every soul on board would have perished, if the people from the shore had not gone off in boats and saved nearly all the passengers and crew. One old Spanish General, whose name I have not been able to learn, was washed off the deck and lost.

Marshal Saldanha, with 7,000 men, 900 of whom are cavalry, is at Vendas Novas and Oliveira de Azemcis, three or four leagues south of Oporto. He has threatened daily to cross the river at Corveiro, and he has disappointed all his friends by not having done so, as he had an opportunity, which may not again occur, of intercepting Das Antas on his return from Vianna, and of striking a blow which might have been fatal to the Junta. The Queen's General, Casal, who proposed making a stand against Das Antas at Vianna, has abandoned that city. He made a show of fighting at Ponte de Lima, leaving 200 men in the Castle of Vianna; but on the approach of Das Antas he broke down the bridge and retreated to the frontier at Valence. The Queen's cause has received a great blow by the desertion of the Porto steamer. The Junta has now four steamers: the Queen *none*. The inertness of Marshal Saldanha, the retreat of Casal, the return of Das Antas, the escape of old Fovos, and the coming in of the Porto steamer, have advanced the cause of the Junta materially. Oporto is perfectly tranquil, the city abundantly supplied; the garrison are in spirits, and Saldanha must do something to retrieve the fame of the royal army, or desertion will take place. No union has taken place between the Septembrists and Miguelites in Oporto.—*Times Oporto Correspondent.*

ITALY.

ILLNESS OF THE POPE.—A letter from Bologna, quoted by the *Daily News*, says that the Pope had experienced a slight attack of epilepsy, a malady to which he was subject in his youth. Great anxiety was felt at his illness; which is said to have been immediately occasioned by the news that his brother, Gaetano Mastai, had been struck by apoplexy.

Attempts have recently been made at several places in the Roman States—Faenza, Ancona, and Sinigaglia, to get up agitation against the Pope. The movement is attributed to the machinations of Austrian agents.

GREECE.

M. Massurus, the Turkish Ambassador, has been withdrawn from Athens. He had refused to sign a passport for a Greek who had taken part in a hostile expedition against the Turkish provinces in 1841; the King publicly and angrily reproached M. Massurus; the Ambassador applied to the King's constitutional adviser, the Minister Coletti, for redress; it was refused; and the Porte has noticed the insult by ordering its representative to withdraw.

INDIA.

The accounts from Bombay, brought by the anticipatory express, extend to the 1st of February. The Governor-general, having regulated the Government of the Punjab, had left Colonel Lawrence as resident, and Sir John Littler at the head of the British forces; and he departed from Lahore on the 11th of January, on a progress along the left bank of the Sutlej through the protected Sikh states. A few days before his departure, Lord Hardinge gave a dinner to the officers of the Lahore garrison; at which, in proposing the health of Sir John Littler, he spoke in the most eulogistic terms of that officer's services. The tranquillity of Lahore has determined the Indian Government to diminish the native forces by about 35,000 men. The reduction is to be effected by ceasing to recruit until the regiments are reduced from 1,000 to 800 men each. A sum of £250,000 is to be spent annually for four years on the completion of the Ganges Canal. It is expected

that, in a few years, about 8,000,000 acres of land will thus be rendered productive. Mr. G. R. Clerk, the new Governor of Bombay, arrived there on the 23rd of January, and had assumed the reins of government. Akbar Khan was reported to have made himself master of Candahar. He had attacked the chiefs and made prisoners of them. The health of Dost Mahomed was said to be fast giving way. The British vakeel had succeeded in recovering several British subjects who had been left behind as prisoners in the great retreat—entirely natives, it would appear, from the mode of mentioning them. Some of them had since married in Afghanistan, and deserted on the march to the frontier. There was no news of any moment from Scinde. Sir Charles Napier was to leave Kurrachee in the beginning of February, for Hyderabad.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO AID IN OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

[We have much pleasure in reprinting the following circular of the Central Committee, and seconding their request that the opponents of the scheme will, where it is practicable, reprint it for wide circulation in their localities.]

Committee-room, King's Head, Poultry,

March 8th, 1847.

DEAR SIR,—The Central Committee formed for the purpose of aiding, by all legitimate means, the opposition to the Government measure of public education, as developed in the minutes of the Committee of Council of August and December, 1846, earnestly invite your prompt and effective co-operation, and that of all other persons whom you can influence.

It is not improbable that you may have already formed an opinion of the measure. Nevertheless, the Central Committee take the liberty of submitting, through you, to the consideration of your friends and neighbours—

1. An accurate, though condensed, description of the measure itself.

2. A brief and methodical statement of the various objections which, as they conceive, may be urged with great force against it.

3. The views which they entertain as to the several practical modes in which it may constitutionally, and with the greatest possibility of success, be counteracted and opposed.

I.—DESCRIPTION OF THE MEASURE.

1. The prime object is the *multiplication and remuneration of schoolmasters and mistresses*.

2. Their *number* is to be increased by means of a system of "pupil-teachers" and "stipendiary monitors" (of both sexes), of Queen's scholarships, and other "exhibitions."

3. Their *remuneration* is to be secured by various payments out of the Consolidated Fund, in the form of *salaries, proportions of salary, fees, gratuities, and retiring pensions*.

PUPIL-TEACHERS AND STIPENDIARY MONITORS.

4. The "pupil-teachers" are to be *apprenticed to schoolmasters for five years*; but the term may be shortened in cases of merit.

5. They are to be selected from schools under inspection, on the nomination of the trustees or managers, and in the proportion of one to every twenty-five scholars.

6. The *candidates* for the privilege of being "pupil-teachers" must be thirteen years of age, and be approved by the inspector: in schools connected with the Church of England, they must have a certificate from the clergymen and managers (who, if not satisfied with the moral character of their families, may require them to board in some approved household), repeat the Catechism, and show that they understand its meaning:—the parochial clergyman assisting in their examination: in other schools, "the state of the religious knowledge," say the Ministers, "will be certified by the managers."

7. Accepted candidates are to undergo annual examinations, increasing in rigour and extent to the close of their term. These examinations, so far as they relate to secular knowledge, will be conducted by the inspector alone; so far as they relate to religious knowledge, in Church of England schools, by the inspector and the parochial clergyman conjointly. The secular examinations will embrace composition, arithmetic, elementary mathematics, English grammar, geography connected with history, and aptness to teach; the religious—the Holy Scriptures, the Liturgy and the Catechism, more and more fully year by year: in other schools, "the managers," say the Ministers, "will annually certify that they are satisfied with the state of the religious knowledge of the pupil-teachers," and also that they "have been attentive to their religious duties"—i. e., have regularly attended church.

9. Every pupil-teacher, having passed these examinations and presented the required yearly testimonial, will receive a certificate declaring that he has successfully completed his apprenticeship.

10. The regulations concerning "stipendiary monitors" are nearly the same as those concerning pupil-teachers, the difference being that the former are not to be formally apprenticed, are to be retained for four years instead of five, and are to be paid at a somewhat lower rate. In all other respects the same conditions apply to both claims.

11. Pupil-teachers and stipendiary monitors are to be paid by the Government, after the following rates, irrespectively of any sum received from the school, or any other source:—

| | Apprentice. | Monitor. |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------|
| At the end of the 1st year | £10 0 0 | £5 0 0 |
| " 2nd " | 12 10 0 | 7 10 0 |
| " 3rd " | 15 0 0 | 10 0 0 |
| " 4th " | 17 10 0 | 12 10 0 |
| " 5th " | 20 0 0 | — |

These stipends will be liable to be withdrawn on the unfavourable report of the inspector, or in default of the required clerical and other certificates.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF NORMAL SCHOOLS, QUEEN'S SCHOLARSHIPS, AND PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

12. Successful pupil-teachers are candidates for the Queen's scholarships and for public employment.

13. The inspectors, in conjunction with the Principal of Normal Schools under inspection, are to submit to the Lord

President those who, upon competition in a public examination, annually held in each district, may be found most proficient; and the Committee of Council may award, for as many as they may think fit, an EXHIBITION of £20 or £25 to one of the normal schools under inspection; such to be denominated "QUEEN'S SCHOLARS," and the exhibition liable to be withdrawn, if the principal be dissatisfied with the conduct, &c., of the exhibitors.

14. Besides these exhibitions, the Committee of Council will award to every normal school under inspection a grant, for every student of whose conduct and proficiency the principal shall report favourably enough at the close of each of the three years of training, of £20 the first year, £25 second, and £30 third.

15. As "further incentives" to such as "may not display the highest qualifications for the office of schoolmaster, but whose conduct and attainments may be satisfactory," opportunities are to be afforded of "obtaining employment in the public service," explained by the Lord President of the Council to mean appointments in the revenue departments.

SCHOOLMASTERS AND MISTRESSES—THEIR REMUNERATION BY GRANTS IN AID, FEES, GRATUITIES, AND RETIRING PENSIONS.

16. Numerous provisions are made for the encouragement and remuneration of schoolmasters and mistresses.

17. For training pupil teachers and monitors, masters and mistresses are to be paid yearly at the following rates:—

| | £. s. d. | £. s. d. | |
|---|----------|---------------|--------|
| For 1 apprentice | 5 0 0 | For 1 monitor | 2 10 0 |
| — 2 — | 9 0 0 | — 2 — | 4 0 0 |
| — 3 — | 12 0 0 | — 3 — | 6 0 0 |
| For each additional apprentice beyond 3 . | 3 0 0 | monitor | 1 10 0 |

18. Annual grants in aid of salary are to be made to certified schoolmasters, who are appointed to schools under inspection, and had had one year's training in a normal school under inspection, from £15 0 0 to £20 0 0

2 years' 20 0 0 — 25 0 0

3 years' 25 0 0 — 30 0 0

Schoolmistresses in like circumstances are to have two thirds of these sums. These grants are on condition that the master or mistress has a house rent-free, a salary at least twice the amount of the grant, presents an annual certificate of good conduct and efficiency, and that the inspector reports the school efficient.

19. Retiring pensions regulated in amount by the Inspector's reports, but in no case exceeding two-thirds of the previous average annual emoluments, will be granted to any schoolmaster or mistress incapacitated by age or infirmity, or who shall for fifteen years have conducted a normal or an elementary school under seven years' inspection.

20. Masters and mistresses will derive other pecuniary benefits in connexion with the proposed day-schools of industry; that is to say, an annual gratuity to the masters of school field-gardens; a gratuity to the masters of workshops for trades, for every boy become a workman or assistant in any trade or craft whereby he is earning his livelihood; an annual gratuity to the mistresses of school-kitchens and washhouses reported of favourably by the inspectors; with an additional gratuity to schoolmasters and mistresses for every male pupil teacher trained, besides general instruction, in the culture of a garden or in some mechanical art, and every female pupil teacher instructed in cutting out, and in cooking, baking, or washing; the inspector to certify in both cases, and the reward to be proportioned to the skill and care displayed.

DAY-SCHOOLS OF INDUSTRY.

21. This class of schools are to be promoted when arranged in all respects to the satisfaction of the Committee of Council, and placed under inspection: field gardens, by payment of half the rent and by a grant for the first purchase of tools; workshops for teachers, by grants for building and first purchase of tools; and school-kitchens and washhouses, by grants for building: besides the gratuities to masters and mistresses above-mentioned.

II.—OBJECTIONS TO THE MEASURE.

UNCONSTITUTIONALLY INTRODUCED.

1. It is introduced on the mere authority of a Committee of Council appointed in 1839, to administer a small annual grant in aid of school-buildings, instead of being submitted to Parliament in a bill.

2. Even in 1839, on its original appointment, the unconstitutional character of the Committee of Council was pointed out by Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, and by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords:—

3. The noble lord moved an Address, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to revoke the Order in Council of the 10th of April, 1839, appointing a Committee of Council to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education. The motion was supported, on a division, by 275; opposed by 280; majority for Ministers, only 5. The Archbishop of Canterbury moved an address to the Throne with the same object, which was carried against Ministers by a majority of 229 to 118. Thus, the Committee of Council has been denounced by a majority of one House, and nearly so by a majority of the other, as an unconstitutional, irresponsible, and dangerous Board, the appointment of which ought to be revoked.

4. If, viewed in connexion with the limited purpose of its first appointment, this Committee excited so much jealousy, how much more when it has actually assumed that stretch of prerogative which was then apprehended as barely possible.

NEEDLESSNESS OF THE MEASURE.

5. The needlessness of the proposed measure is proved by the amazing increase of voluntary efforts.

6. Elementary schools have vastly increased, and are still increasing, in number; training schools are becoming numerous; the quality of the instruction has greatly improved, and is still improving; the number of children under tuition has trebled within the last twenty-eight years; vast sums of money have been expended in school buildings; and many religious denominations and public bodies are engaged in making unprecedented efforts to promote education in the country.

7. It is but a fair inference, that since so much has been accomplished in a short time, all that is needful will, in due time, be effected by the same means.

8. It may be urged, that Government and Parliament are misled by the reports of the inspectors, which, relating to those schools only which are under inspection, afford but an imperfect estimate of the quantity and quality of education in the country.

9. It is, moreover, preposterous to make further demands upon the public funds, while a vast amount of property, bequeathed for educational purposes, remains without any just or useful appropriation.

EXPENSIVE CHARACTER OF THE MEASURE.

10. It involves a vast annual outlay of public money,—a

atal objection at a period when, to save Ireland from utter famine, the Government has been obliged to raise a loan of eight millions sterling, and may not improbably be driven to further expense to insure the then portions of the United Kingdom from a similar calamity.

11. The scheme will be found to embrace at least fourteen several heads of expense, which, it has been calculated, will eventually involve a yearly outlay of little less than £2,000,000.

GOVERNMENT PATRONAGE SPRINGING OUT OF THE MEASURE.

12. At least 88,000 individuals, to say nothing of their connexions, will be dependent upon the Government, and consequently subservient to it.

13. Pupil-teachers and Stipendiary Monitors; Queen's scholars and other exhibitors in Normal schools; schoolmasters and mistresses; masters of school-gardens; master workmen in school workshops; mistresses in school-kitchens and washhouses—all these, with their respective families and friends, and all those who aspire to such appointments with their families and friends; and also pupil-teachers admitted into the revenue departments with their families and friends, all these will be rendered the obedient servants of the Executive.

14. A similar influence will obviously extend itself over the trustees and managers of schools in receipt of or seeking the aid of the State.

15. The continued servility of so large a section of the community will be secured by the power reserved to withdraw or withhold pecuniary rewards on the adverse reports of the inspectors.

THE MEASURE SUBSIDIARY TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

16. Both the principle and the details of the measure, and the circumstances attending its production, show it to be INTENDED TO FAVOUR THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

17. It is proved by the recorded and printed Minutes of the Committee of Council to have been brought forward at the sole instance of clerical and other bodies connected with the Established Church.

18. The inspectors, most of whom are clergymen, are not appointed without the concurrence of the archbishops, which can be withdrawn at pleasure, when the appointment ceases; and they receive their instructions "with regard to religious teaching" from the most reverend prelates.

19. The parochial clergy have an authority co-ordinate with that of the inspectors, the yearly certificates of the one class being as necessary as the favourable reports of the other, to pupil-teachers, stipendiary monitors, &c., &c. No favour whatever can descend but through the intervention of the clergy.

20. In the Church of England schools, which are under the authority of the parochial clergymen, the religious teaching is to be at once *definite* and *compulsory*; and, since no scholar can become a pupil-teacher or a stipendiary monitor without being, in the first place, well versed in the Church Catechism, nor remain one unless the clergymen distinctly certify that he "has been attentive to his religious duties," it follows, independently of the existing practice in such schools, that the Church Catechism and attendance at church, and at the Church Sunday-school, will be compulsory on those who wish to reap the proposed benefits.

21. When we consider the character of the proposed religious teaching, the order of persons appointed as inspectors, their extensive powers, and their complete subjection to the heads of the Church; the high authority conferred upon the parochial clergy, the immense amount of money and influence placed at their disposal, with a power at almost any time to withdraw their patronage (for the clergymen may at any time withhold his testimonial, and thereby blast the fortunes of the youth for ever, without any one having the power to ask him for a reason); and add to this that the Church is permitted, in every material point, to prescribe her own terms: the measure cannot be viewed in any other light than as a subsidiary Church Establishment. To these considerations might be added many more, such as—

- (1.) The scheme has been justly characterized as "a system of spiritual despotism, unclogged by a single condition in favour of religious freedom, and totally exempt from legal responsibility."
- (2.) It absurdly proposes to give Government clerkships and gaugerships for the learning of the Liturgy and the Church Catechism.
- (3.) It may be reasonably expected that, beginning with insisting upon annual certificates, that apprentices and monitors are drilled in the Catechism and the Liturgy, it will ultimately require, according to the practice of the Normal College at Stanley-grove, that the Thirty-nine Articles shall also be learned by heart.
- (4.) The scheme will gradually give the clergy a new and vast power, not only over Dissenters, but over the laity of the Church of England.
- (5.) It will produce a perpetual succession of theologically bred schoolmasters, large numbers of whom, it is probable, will obtain holy orders, thus unnaturally increasing a State-paid clergy, already a grievous incumbrance on the nation.
- (6.) Beneath a thin, though an elaborate veil, it more than half reveals a skilfully devised machinery, for the recovery of Church power over the popular mind.

THE MEASURE AS IT AFFECTS DISSENTERS.

22. It aggravates the public burdens of Dissenters, imposes on them new disabilities, places them under inequitable disadvantages, and aims insidiously at the destruction of their educational institutions by increasing, at their expense, the attractiveness of Church of England schools, and by rendering attendance on their Sunday-schools an act which, in many instances, will entail practically penal consequences.

23. They will have to pay a new tax (as it will virtually be) in addition to tithes, church-rates, Easter-offerings, and other ecclesiastical imposts, in support of a system of religious teaching at variance with their own convictions, and under the exclusive direction and control of the Established Church.

24. By offering numerous advantages, on the sole condition of constant conformity to the doctrinal symbols and rites of the Established Church, it creates new disabilities, more grievous in their pressure and more extensive in their application, than those removed by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

25. It tends to the disadvantage of all Dissenting schools, and all scholars, schoolmasters, committees, and subscribers connected with them, by compelling Dissenters, as taxpayers, to pay towards the support of Church of England schools without receiving an equivalent in their own; by conferring on the pupils and masters of Church of England schools advantages denied to the pupils and masters of Dissenting schools; and by constraining the committees and subscribers of Dissenting schools, either to make inordinate efforts, otherwise uncallable, or to compete with rival schools under grievous disadvantages.

26. It offers so many inducements to the poor to send their children to schools under Church and State patronage,

that, in many parts of the country, the Sunday-schools, and even the congregations of Dissenters, will, in process of time, almost inevitably be dissolved and disappear.

THE MEASURE HOSTILE TO CIVIL FREEDOM.

27. It is hostile to civil freedom in various ways—
 - (1.) In committing the education of the people to teachers dependent, in a great measure, upon the Established clergy and the Executive.
 - (2.) In placing schools, as well as schoolmasters, pupils, teachers, and stipendiary monitors, under the virtual control of the Established clergy, and of inspectors, nominated by the Executive, and approved by the heads of the Established Church, and no way responsible to Parliament.
 - (3.) In thus spreading over the face of the country a large army of Government and ecclesiastical functionaries, ready to do the bidding of those on whom they are dependent, and encouraging to a wide extent a disposition among the people to expect sustenance from the State.
 - (4.) In extending the duties of the Inspectors, heretofore confined to places, over the conduct of persons, hundreds of thousands of whom will, more or less, completely be at their mercy as to their prospects in life.
 - (5.) In destroying the freedom of education, which is the firmest basis and surest safeguard of civil freedom.
 - (6.) In adopting a plan of procedure which, on the continent, has been found one of the most efficient instruments of tyranny and despotism.
 - (7.) Finally, in appropriating taxes, paid by all classes of the people without distinction of creed or worship, to the maintenance of schools and schoolmasters of one particular creed and worship.

GENERAL OBJECTIONS TO THE MEASURE.

1. From this plan, devised by a "Liberal" Government, we may learn the folly of looking to the State for any educational plan which does not violate the most cherished convictions of Dissenters, and the friends of liberty.

2. Although introduced as "no plan," it is clearly "a scheme fully arranged," a tentative device, which is to determine how much the public mind will bear;

3. Proposed only as an instalment, not from any doubt or hesitancy of the Government, but simply because the public mind is known to be hostile to any more perfected scheme.

4. In the meantime, under the guise of apparent concession, a most important point is gained—the principle of Government interference is assumed, the public mind is accustomed to Government control of education, educational stipendiaries are created without number, and a machinery is put in action capable of indefinite expansion.

5. It assumes that the education of the people is the office of the State,—a proposition which cannot be admitted; and that the State is best able to perform that office,—a proposition which experience disproves.

6. The plan is liable to this further objection, that it may be varied or extended at any time without the notoriety of Parliamentary discussion; which is highly unconstitutional.

7. It will extend immensely the administrative power of the Government, without adequate publicity and Parliamentary check.

8. Not merely the committees of schools, and subscribers to the funds, but the parties who have materials to supply, apprentices to obtain, or even land to lease or cultivate in connexion with Government schools, will deem subservient to the reviewing official properly and profitably rendered.

9. The proposed retiring pensions involve the futile principle of pensioning every class of men whose voluntary occupation, though not prospectively lucrative to themselves, happens to be beneficial to others.

10. It increases the wealth and influence of the Established Church, already too great; and entrusts the education of the young to the Established clergy, who have, in all times, been the most negligent and inefficient in instructing either the young or the old.

11. In respect of religious instruction, whether in Church of England or other schools, it clearly proposes to pay for all kinds of such instruction without discriminating between the good and the bad, the false and the true—a principle of action based upon the pernicious doctrine that any one religion is as good as any other.

12. It thus exhibits the Government directly, and the Established clergy indirectly, as engaged in the authoritative maintenance of all existing religious systems, as if to them all were equally true, equally false, or equally indifferent.

13. The whole corps of inspectors are animated by one spirit, and are adherents of the principle of national endeavour.

14. The proportion to be observed between voluntary contributions and the aid of the State, so far from stimulating private benevolence, will first discourage and afterwards extinguish it; while, as to the established clergy, it suggests the wisdom of sacrificing, in the form of voluntary contributions for school purposes, a small portion of their present revenues, in order to entitle themselves to receive an additional income from the State of perhaps fourfold amount.

15. It compromises the interests of private schoolmasters, threatening, as it does, to swamp them by the creation of a vast number of State stipendiaries with various enticing advantages.

16. The extreme youth of the new race of schoolmasters constitutes an obvious objection.

17. Every teacher who will not accept the largesses of the State will be driven into unfair, hostile, and obnoxious competition with antagonists who derive their resources from impositions and exactions, practised on himself with all the penalty and obloquy a government can inflict.

18. The proposed scheme will tend greatly to paralyze the efforts of private individuals and communities who cannot conscientiously accept of Government aid, and especially will render it increasingly difficult for them to obtain masters for their schools.

19. These Minutes of Council are not founded on those principles of local assessment, suffrage, control, and action—which were in some degree recognized and embodied even in the measure of 1843.

20. It does not so much as provide, that in a parish having one school supported by Government grants, and the prospect of Government appointments, *every child in that parish shall have a right to all the advantages of that school, without going through religious exercises, or submitting to religious authority to which its parents may object.*

21. It deserves consideration whether the novel mode proposed of giving boys instruction in various trades and handicrafts be not in inconvenient opposition to the rules and usages which, whether right or wrong, have hitherto regulated their exercise.

22. The measure violates in a twofold manner a settled universal principle. It proposes to create a supply independently of a corresponding demand: for,

- (1.) It will vastly increase the number of schools and schoolmasters, whereas the poverty of the people prevents them from availing themselves of education for

their children to the full extent of the means already provided by voluntary and independent exertions.

(2.) It will, through the operation of the industrial schools, greatly augment the amount of skilled labour at a time when the labour market is in every department distressingly overstocked.

23. The statistics of crime prove, on the whole, that poverty is the parent of more offences against the law than ignorance, while it is also the grand impediment to the extension of education.

24. As brought forward by the present Government, the measure is liable to the forcible objection of being based upon that very principle of exclusion which they have themselves condemned in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

25. It proceeds from the same deliberately formed purpose which has determined upon the endowment of Popery, and which has already endowed Popery, in the education of the young.

III. MEANS OF OPPOSING THE MEASURE.

1. The uncandid and evasive answer of Lord John Russell, in reply to Mr. Hindley, affords no reason for relaxation in opposing the measure, but the contrary.

2. Whether the Government take a grant for £100,000 or any larger sum, they can in either case begin to put their plan in operation.

3. So long as the Minutes of Council remain on the tables of Parliament unquestioned, the Committee of Council are warranted in taking it for granted that the authority they claim is conceded, and in making still further advances in its exercise.

4. It is, therefore, strongly advised, that steps be taken immediately to oppose the measure by public meetings, memorials to her Majesty's Ministers, and petitions to Parliament (a form is subjoined).

5. Public meetings should be called, if possible, in every town, parish, village, and hamlet; and the resolutions adopted either embodied in the form of memorials to her Majesty's Ministers, or simply authenticated by the signature of the Chairman, should be transmitted without delay to Lord John Russell.

6. All memorials and petitions should, it is submitted, contain a decided protest against any Government interference with the education of the people, and should conclude with a prayer that the proposed measure be withdrawn, and the powers given to the Committee of Council in 1839 be revoked.

7. Petitions may be forwarded for presentation to the representatives of the petitioners, or to the Central Committee, who will place them in the hands of members opposed to the measure.

8. Every mode and form of constitutional and effective opposition should be set in motion, e.g.:—

(1.) Towns and parishes may forcibly object to the centralizing character of the measure, and the menaced addition to the public burdens in the shape (virtually) of a new and heavy ecclesiastical impost.

(2.) Congregations may protest against it as calculated, among other evils, to undermine their congregational institutions, by enticing away the working classes and their children by the lure of superior worldly advantages.

(3.) Sunday-school teachers may justly complain that it is directly adapted to counteract and neutralize their voluntary self-denying and useful efforts, by absorbing the children of the poor into the so-called National Schools, in which, no doubt, attendance at the Church Sunday-school and at church will be more than ever insisted upon.

(4.) The Committee and supporters of British and other voluntary day-schools may urge, that they will be unjustly compelled, through the taxes, to contribute to the support of exclusive Church of England schools, without being able, from insuperable objections, to accept any such support for their own schools.

(5.) Protestant Dissenters will have a just right to complain that a new and oppressive ecclesiastical impost, and unprecedented disabilities are about to be imposed upon them.

(6.) Finally, individual electors may correspond with their representatives in Parliament, and intimate distinctly the view which they shall be disposed to take of their conduct if they are not prepared, not merely to oppose and resist the present unconstitutional and obnoxious measure, but also to withhold their support from any future measure, the effect of which may be to increase the number of Dissenters' grievances and augment the power and wealth of the Established Church.

9. Men who care little about Dissenters or their principles, may yet hesitate, in the immediate prospect of an election, to sanction the wrong with which Dissenters are threatened.

10. Happily, honourable members are not yet committed. In the case of the Maynooth grant, it was otherwise. Many of them had spoken or voted before the communications of their constituents were received, and a general election—no trifling consideration in such matters—was not then near. On this occasion they are unpledged, and consistency does not require them to proceed.

11. But no time must be lost. The emissaries of Government are abroad; and, when they see the gathering storm of opposition, their policy will be to hasten the accomplishment of their measure before the full power of that storm is felt.

WILL OF THE LATE JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.—The late Joseph John Gurney, banker, of Norwich, left personal and funded property amounting to £140,000, and he directed his executors and trustees to invest £70,000, and to pay the interest to his widow for her life, giving her power to dispose of £20,000 by will. He bequeaths to his daughter a legacy of £20,000, and a further sum of £35,000 on the demise of his widow. His furniture, plate, and books, at his residence at Earlham-hall, he leaves for his wife and daughter to make a selection first therefrom, and the remainder to his son, who is the residuary legatee, and upon whom, at the decease of Mrs. Gurney, will devolve the trust fund comprised in the marriage settlement; and to him he has also appointed and devised all his landed and freehold estates. He has left to each clerk in the Norwich bank, of which he was a partner, a legacy of £10; and to the public charitable institutions in the county, including several schools in connexion with the Society of Friends, he has left bequests amounting in the whole to 1,000 guineas. To his sister, Richenda Cunningham, £1,000, and other bequests to his family. To his nephew, Henry Kirkbeck, £250, for his trouble as acting executor with his son, John Henry Gurney. The deceased executed his will in March, 1846, and died on the 4th of January last, aged fifty-nine.—*Ipswich Express.*

THE DISCUSSION AT LIVERPOOL.

We regret that we should have been unable to meet the unprecedented demand for the *Nonconformist* of Wednesday last, containing the report of the Church and State discussion at Liverpool, between Mr. Baylee and Mr. Miall, although we printed a much larger impression than usual, and afterwards issued a second edition. As it will be some days before the official report of the controversy will be published, we have determined, in consequence of the many orders we have still unexecuted, to publish, on Friday morning, a stamped half-sheet, containing the discussion alone, which will be forwarded to any part of the country on the receipt of six postage stamps.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, March 10th.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

ABOLITION OF DEATH PUNISHMENTS.

In the House of Commons, last night, Mr. Ewart rose to move for leave to bring in a bill for the total abolition of the punishment of death. The only plea upon which such punishment could be justified was its necessity. Experience, both here and elsewhere, had proved that it was no longer necessary to deter from crime, whilst the improvements which had recently taken place in our prisons and prison discipline, rendering imprisonment for crime more sure and effective, was an additional reason for the discontinuance of the punishment of death. Not only was it now unnecessary, but positively injurious—injurious to the criminal himself, to the jury called upon to adjudicate upon his case, and to society at large. The severity of the punishment created a morbid sympathy in favour of those accused of capital crimes, and inclined juries, in many cases, to acquit, when they would otherwise convict, whilst its public infliction, instead of having a salutary effect upon those who witnessed it, was in every way calculated to have the very reverse. The punishment which he would substitute for that of death, was imprisonment for life. But in addition to punishment of any kind, there was something else necessary, in order effectually to provide for the prevention of crime, which was the institution of a proper system of general education for the people.

Dr. Bowring seconded the motion.

Sir G. Grey regretted that he could not assent to the motion of the honourable gentleman. He did not deny that the mitigation of our criminal law had been attended with the happiest results. But, although he should be sorry to find the Legislature retrace its steps in this respect, he was not ready to accede to a proposition for the abolition of the punishment of death in cases of murder, treason, &c. They were not now called upon to argue whether the abolition of that punishment should not be carried somewhat further than it was a few years ago. What they were called upon to do was to erase it entirely from their penal system, and this he was not prepared to assent to. There was no species of punishment which excited such terrors in the minds of those inclining to crime as did this, nor was he prepared to admit that public opinion was in favour of its entire abolition.

Mr. Hume, Mr. Aglionby, and Mr. Brotherton supported the motion.

Sir R. H. Inglis opposed it on theological grounds, maintaining that human legislation was not competent to repeal the direct precept of heaven, which, from the foundation of the world itself, affixed the punishment of death to the crime of murder.

On a division there were—

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| For the motion | 41 |
| Against it | 81 |
| Majority against | —40 |

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.—Mr. Milner Gibson then moved for leave to bring in a bill for the collection of agricultural statistics in England and Wales. If thought desirable, a separate bill for the same purpose would soon be introduced for Scotland, the intention being to leave the collection of such statistics in Ireland to the Executive Government in that country. Leave was given.

The other business on the paper was then disposed of, and the House adjourned.

THE FREE CHURCH COMMITTEE.—The following members were appointed the select committee on sites for churches in Scotland:—Mr. Bouverie, Sir James Graham, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Secretary-at-War, Lord Dalmeny, Mr. Baine, Viscount Morpeth, Mr. Morgan John O'Connell, Mr. Brotherton, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. George William Hope, Mr. Deedes, Mr. Stafford O'Brien, Mr. Wilson Patten, and Mr. Henry Baillie.

In the House of Lords, last night, the third reading of the Custody of Offenders (Ireland) Bill, was postponed until to-morrow.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME.
MOVEMENT IN THE NORTH.

A preliminary meeting of Dissenting ministers and others favourable to voluntary education was held in St. James's (Independent) chapel, Newcastle-on-Tyne, on Thursday afternoon, when the Government scheme of education was pronounced to be highly objectionable, and a committee was appointed to make arrangements for further opposition to the measure. The Religious Freedom Society met on the same evening, and came to the determination of opposing the measure. The committee of the Union School, South Shields, a mixed one of Churchmen and Dissenters, met last week to consider the necessity of applying to the Privy Council for assistance in training apprentice pupils and monitors. It was strenuously opposed by the Wesleyan Association, Scotch Secession, Relief, and Independent

ministers, and supported by the Free Church minister. The discussion was adjourned. The Free Church, who have a stomach for anything, have, or are to receive four hundred pounds towards the erection of a school here. A most recklessly exaggerated statement of the educational and moral condition of the town has been circulated by this body, in districts remote from here. As a specimen, they state that there are 10,000 children running about in a state of heathenism, without any education whatever; when the fact is, there are not 10,000 children, rich and poor, in the town (S. Shields). Almost the same statements have been made by this body about the condition of Newcastle. Modesty is not the characteristic of the Free Church in the north of England. If the Dissenters here are true to their colours, they can make some of the Whig members quake for their seats; for, at the next election, there will be hard and finely-balanced struggles between the Conservatives and them, in which every Dissenter's vote will have a value. The only test of public opinion we have had yet was on Wednesday evening, when the eloquent Paxton Hood was lecturing on self-education. In passing, he expressed a decided opinion against State interference with the education of the people, and, in a moment, a hearty response was yielded by the large and highly respectable audience present.—*From our Correspondent.*

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME IN THE EAST OF LONDON.—GREAT MEETING.—As in the case of the Factories Education Bill, so now with the Government Education Scheme, the Dissenters of the East of London have been among the first to take the field. On Thursday last, a numerous and influential committee was formed, and it was at once resolved that a public meeting should be convened on the following Monday, in order to adopt vigorous measures against the alarming and unconstitutional measure of the Government. Notwithstanding the short notice necessarily given of the meeting, the committee succeeded, by great personal efforts, and the circulation of some thousands of copies of a spirited handbill descriptive of the proposed scheme, in inflaming the public curiosity to the highest pitch. Long before the hour of commencement, the large hall of the Institution, holding nearly 2,000 persons, was densely crowded, and many hundreds were unable to obtain admission. Indeed, so great was the excitement occasioned by the pressure of the crowd, the heat of the room, and the statements and appeals of the speakers, that owing to the interruption of two individuals, who persisted in addressing the audience at great length, and moving amendments to the resolutions, there was at one time a danger of the meeting being thrown into confusion. Dr. Reed presided, and was supported on the platform by the following ministers and gentlemen:—Drs. Davies and Hewlett; Messrs. G. Smith, Kennedy, Stovel, Seaborn, Mummary, Talbot, Woodhouse, Viney, and Allen; G. Moffatt, Esq., M.P., W. Franks, Esq., T. Scrutton, Esq., W. Deering, Esq., J. Dunn, Esq. Resolutions of a very decided character, in condemnation of the measure, were proposed by Messrs. Smith, Kennedy, Stovel, Seaborn, Mummary, Woodyard, Deering, and Dr. Hewlett, and carried by an overwhelming majority. They will be found in our advertising columns. That repudiating all Government assistance in education, as involving practical injustice, and being necessarily dangerous to public liberty, was placed before the meeting by Mr. Stovel, in a speech of great eloquence, which produced a powerful impression on the audience. This meeting is, we believe, intended to be but a preliminary one; it being the intention of the Committee to hold sectional meetings throughout the east of London, for the purpose of thoroughly exposing the real nature and design of the measure, and concentrating public feeling against it.

DEPUTATIONS TO GOVERNMENT.—Yesterday afternoon deputations from the Congregational Board of Education, with Mr. Ainslie, the Secretary, and from the Committee of Deputies of the three denominations, consisting of W. A. Hankey, Esq., Thomas Pewtress, Esq., G. Offor, Esq., N. Griffin, Esq., B. Hanbury, Esq., Josiah Conder, Esq., Charles Reed, Esq., and Hull Terrell, Esq., waited upon Lord John Russell, to present memorials against the educational scheme of Government. They were received with great courtesy, and had an interview which lasted three-quarters of an hour. The result was much the same as in previous interviews. The Premier, however, appeared to regard with some seriousness the constitutional objections to the measure; and, when one of the deputation commenced reading the paragraph copied elsewhere from the *Leeds Mercury*, Lord John stopped him with the remark that he had already seen it.

MEETINGS AT LEEDS.—On Monday, two meetings were held at Leeds, one in favour, the other in opposition, to the Government measure. The meeting “of the friends of national education” was convened by the Mayor, and held at the Court-house. It was very crowded. There was a very strong gathering of clergymen. The resolutions affirmed the deficiency of education, and the duty of the State to interfere. On the subject of the ministerial scheme the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

That, without pledging itself to all the details, this meeting believes the scheme for extending the operations of the Committee of Council on Education recently laid before Parliament to be founded on sound principles, and to combine efficient means for developing and improving the existing means of education, with the observance of perfect fairness to all sections of the community:—1. By offering aid to all parties engaged in promoting education, while it secures to each full liberty of conscience as to the religious training to be combined with secular instruction.—2. By the manner in which it calls forth and sustains voluntary contributions for the education of the people, and at the same time renders them effective.—3. By the encouragement which it holds out to young persons to devote themselves to the profession of teachers, and by the judicious regulations which it contains for ascertaining and securing their progressive advancement in knowledge. 4. By the means which it offers for elevating the master's standing in society, by increasing his stipend, and making provision for his old age. 5. By providing a constant stimulus, both to masters and scholars, through the medium of inspection, while the discipline and management of the schools, are left exclusively to the local supporters, and so combining the advantages of Government countenance and support with the free play of popular energy and vigilance.

The principal speakers were Mr. J. G. Marshall, Mr.

H. Stansfield, Mr. Tottie, Mr. Gott, Mr. Wicksteed (Unitarian minister), Dr. Hook, Mr. Fawcett, and Mr. Sinclair, clergymen. Dr. Hook was disposed to give the measure a fair trial. An attempt had been made to right both sides and to favour none. He called upon the working classes to prevent the cause of education being retarded in its progress, and to prevent sectarian influence from throwing any impediment in its way. It was resolved, that a petition in favour of the Government scheme be presented to the House of Commons, and communicated to the Lord President of the Council, and that a deputation from the meeting should be appointed to communicate with the members for the Riding and the borough. The meeting was not quite unanimous. To some of the resolutions there was considerable opposition. Mr. W. Brook (Chartist) said that he had expected that they were going to have a national system of education, but he now found that it was only a something which had been in operation before. This was only a further proof of what he had said before, that the Whigs made great promises, but carried very little out [“Hear, hear,” and “Question”]. His objection to the scheme rested upon this ground, that it did not form one national school throughout the country [hear, hear].—The other meeting was held in the rotunda of the Coloured Cloth-hall, with a view to consider the propriety of originating a requisition to the Mayor, asking his worship to call a public meeting of the inhabitants of the borough, at which the opinions of all classes concerning the Government education scheme might be freely expressed and recorded in resolutions and petitions to Parliament. About 150 gentlemen were present, including the most active opponents of the Government scheme. Mr. Edward Baines occupied the chair. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Mr. F. Carbutt, Mr. W. B. Holdsworth, Mr. E. Baines, jun., Mr. Yewdall, Mr. T. Nunnely, Mr. C. Heaps, Mr. Richardson, &c. The requisition was unanimously adopted. The meeting will no doubt be a stormy one.

In LONDON there are now a central committee, which meets every day at the King's Head-tavern, Poultry; a South London committee; and an East London committee. On Thursday there will be a meeting in the Hall of Commerce, and numerous meetings are in contemplation in various parts of the metropolis. We understand that it is not unlikely that the Central Committee will appoint a deputation to wait upon Sir R. Peel.

POLITICAL REFORM.—From our Parliamentary report it will be observed, that the Whig Ministry will not be allowed to cushion the question of a reform of the representation in the quiet manner they have attempted. After Easter, Mr. Duncombe is to renew his motion for a repeal of the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Bill. It is for the large town constituencies, which are most affected by these vexatious restrictions, to rally round Mr. Duncombe, and warn their members that a general election is approaching.

The character of the recent Parliamentary division on this subject, says the *Morning Chronicle*, sufficiently suggests both the necessity and the probable efficacy of a popular agitation of the question during the interval between now and “after Easter.” The twenty official votes which exactly made the majority against Mr. Duncombe on the evening of the 23rd ult., were given under circumstances which render it, we imagine, practically certain, as regards a considerable proportion of them, that the error will not be repeated when the honourable members alluded to shall have received fuller and more precise information. Electors of large constituencies have only to say to gentlemen labouring under this misapprehension—a natural one, perhaps, to official minds—that they would positively prefer seeing their franchises properly guarded, to seeing Lord John Russell invariably in a majority, and the thing is done.

On Tuesday, the 23rd inst., Lord John Russell will probably have a further opportunity of reiterating his finality doctrines, and convincing the country (if more evidence be needed) that he neither has, nor claims, any pretensions to the title “liberal.” On that evening, Mr. Sharman Crawford proposed to move for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of the Septennial Act. We trust the friends of political reform throughout the country will be on the alert, and strengthen the hands of the Radical members of the House of Commons, by meetings and petitions.

MR. O'CONNELL'S HEALTH.—The honourable and learned member for Cork, whose precarious state of health has excited so much interest, left the British Hotel, Jermyn-street, on Saturday last, for the country. The medical advisers of the learned gentleman have recommended a total cessation from business, and a change of air, as absolutely necessary. It is understood that the honourable member will sojourn for a few weeks at Hastings, and will thereafter proceed to France, and from thence by easy stages to Italy.—*Globe.*

REPRESENTATION OF LEICESTER.—Mr. Wynn Ellis has again formally announced to the electors of Leicestershire, that he does not intend to offer himself again as a candidate for their suffrages. Sir J. Walmsley is likely to be invited with tolerable unanimity, but Mr. George Thompson is opposed by a section of the Whig party.

THE GREAT BRITAIN.—Mr. Brunel reports that Captain Claxton has completely succeeded in protecting the Great Britain from further injury, by a breakwater of faggots. The next point to be considered is how to get her off.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

| | Wheat | Barley | Oats | Beans | Peas | Flour. |
|--------------|-------|--------|------|-------|------|--------|
| English | 2380 | 1340 | 2120 | | | 2310 |
| Scotch..... | | | | | | |
| Irish | | | | | | |
| Foreign | | 3770 | 5290 | | | |

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 For every additional Two Lines 6d.
 Half a Column . . . £1 | Column £2
 * All communications to the Editor should be addressed to the office, 3, Whitefriars-street, Fleet-street.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"E. F. H." Rugeley. The verses are capital, but for delicacy's sake we cannot give them in our paper.
 "Emendator" will find the article referred to in No. 136, Vol. 3.
 We have not kept his former communication, or we would have returned it.
 "A Nonconformist." We are quite unable to give him the information he desires.
 "One who will not pay a Church-rate." Next week.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1847.

SUMMARY.

THE hum of agitation begins to be audible in the provinces, like distant thunder. One after another, public meetings in our great manufacturing towns are uttering a hearty condemnation of the Government educational project. Yorkshire sounded the alarm—Lancashire is prepared to echo the report—London is about to speak in many-voiced tones of disapproval and remonstrance—Leicestershire is ready to pronounce,—why need we specify Leicestershire? The number of places gathering themselves up for the contest would form too long a catalogue for us to insert. Suffice it to observe, that Dissenters throughout the country, together with the friends of free and untrammeled education, are rising up in unanimous and energetic opposition to the most insidious measure of the present age. The importance of promptitude in this movement can hardly be over-rated. Whatever is done should be done on this side of Easter. We are delighted, therefore, to observe the activity of the Central Committee which represents all parties of voluntary religionists, and which bases its operations upon the principle that all Government interference with the education of the people is pernicious in its tendency and mischievous in its results. The committee has put into wide circulation an able paper, which we have transferred to our own columns, and from which may be seen at a glance all that is needful in the way of accurate information. We know not what may be the ultimate resolution of Ministers. They have been waited upon by several deputations, but little can be gathered from them save that they appear to have been profoundly ignorant of the scope of their own plan, and that they are keeping a sharp look-out upon the various manifestations of public feeling. Now, therefore, is the time to ply members of Parliament with deputations and memorials—to make them sensible that their seats are in danger—and to convince the officers of Government, most of whom represent popular constituencies, that they must choose between an entire withdrawal of the Minutes of Council, or an abandonment of their hopes that they will be re-elected by their former friends. Lord John Russell, especially, should be made fairly acquainted with the sentiments of a large portion of his constituency. We advise that every elector of the city of London, hostile to the present measure, should forthwith write to his lordship, and candidly state what course he will be compelled to pursue at the next general election. This course might, with equal propriety, be adopted, elsewhere.

In the House of Commons the Ten Hours Bill has forced itself through another stage. The debate, on Wednesday, was perhaps the best which has yet taken place upon this question. The speakers were mostly able men, and threw into their advocacy considerable interest. The speeches of the day, however, were those of Sir James Graham and Sir Robert Peel; both of them directed against the measure, and both characterized by a power of argument and a felicity of illustration worthy of the respective speakers in their best days. The division, which took place shortly after six o'clock, showed 190 in favour of the bill; 100 only against it.

On Thursday Mr. Vernon Smith brought forward the subject of emigration, and was opposed by three of her Majesty's Ministers—Mr. Hawes, Lord John Russell, and Mr. C. Buller. His motion, which was to increase the importance and authority of the Land and Emigration Board, was, after a short discussion, withdrawn. Mr. Hume then moved certain resolutions respecting the occupation of Cracow, concluding with one for stopping the payment of the Russo-Dutch loan. He was seconded by Lord Sandon, and opposed by Lord John Russell, who appears to think that the dignity of this country is promoted by the payment of money to a foreign power, however the circumstances in which that payment originated may subsequently have become changed. The debate was adjourned, but of course Ministers will be able to carry their point, and of course John Bull will have to continue his remittances to the Russian autocrat.

Friday was principally occupied with the ordnance and navy estimates—the former of which were brought forward by Colonel Anson to a House consisting of twenty-nine members. They were passed seriatim, notwithstanding their increase over the estimates of former years.

On Monday, Irish affairs again monopolized the attention of the House. On the motion that the Speaker

leave the chair to go into committee on the Landed Property (Ireland) Bill, Mr. Roebuck proposed a resolution to the effect that loans to the owners of property in Ireland would be unjust and impolitic, unless accompanied by a system of taxation which would subject such property to the burdens already imposed upon all property throughout Great Britain. This resolution the hon. member brought forward with a bold and slashing speech, remarkable alike for its truthfulness and for the caustic tone which pervaded it from commencement to end. He was opposed by Mr. Labouchere, Mr. John O'Connell, Sir R. Peel, Lord J. Russell, and Lord G. Bentinck—chiefly on the ground, that the present time is but ill-fitted for subjecting Ireland to fresh and heavy taxation; and out of a House of 147, only 26 were found to vote for the proposition.

In the House of Lords, on Friday last, Earl Grey submitted the general intentions of the Government respecting convict discipline and transportation. In a lucid speech he pointed out the evils inherent in the system we have hitherto pursued, and announced the plans which, without asking the sanction of Parliament, Government propose to adopt, by way of experiment, for the next two years. Transportation as a punishment is to be totally abolished; the prisoners sentenced to that punishment will be retained at home, and subjected to separate confinement in the prisons of the United Kingdom, for various terms not exceeding eighteen months; they will then be employed on a penal class of public works; and, finally, they will be pardoned conditionally—the condition being their exile from this country for the remaining term of the original sentence. The pardon, of course, is to be made dependent upon the conduct of the prisoner. The plan, on the whole, was well received, but the entire abandonment of transportation was objected to by most of the lawyers who spoke, and the unconstitutional practice of commencing important administrative changes without the formality of submitting them to the approbation of Parliament, was strongly and very deservedly condemned by Lord Stanley.

IRELAND AND A POOR-LAW.

THE measures of Government for the permanent improvement of Ireland, are now coming under discussion, and the most important of them, undoubtedly, is the bill which makes provision for the relief of the poor. No one observant of what is passing in the political world can have failed to discover, that on this battle-field, the real struggle between the British tax-payers and the Irish land-proprietors will take place. The Premier, worried on the one hand by several members of his own cabinet, deeply interested in averting from their Irish estates the blow which threatens them, and exposed to the well-disciplined manœuvring of the "Irish party"—awed, on the other hand, by the rising determination of the country, represented out of doors by the incessant iterations of the *Times*, and making itself heard within the walls of St. Stephen's, in the sharp and biting speeches of Mr. Roebuck—and destitute, it would seem, of any fixed principles to keep him from swaying hither and thither as this or the other extraneous force is brought to bear upon him—the Premier, we say, is attempting, according to his wont, a compromise between hostile systems of policy, and appears bent on recovering by the details of his bill the greater proportion of what he gives in principle. This is the habit of those who rejoice in the title of practical statesmen—and the consequence has been, and will be, that the experience reaped from their measures cannot furnish decisive evidence to guide succeeding statesmen either on the one side or on the other.

In discussing the principle of an "effective poor-law," in reference to Ireland, it is of primary moment that we keep distinctly in view the one object which it is meant to attain. Few people, whether journalists or readers, representatives or constituents, do this. All, more or less, press the present terrible emergency into their service. Scenes of the most harrowing distress—pictures of social misery such as imagination, in its wildest moods, could not have conceived—are painted with a fidelity which shocks all our sympathies—and advantage is taken of our bewilderment to call for an "effective poor-law." Heartless landowners are dragged, as they deserve to be, upon the stage—their rapacity, extravagance, embarrassments, and insensibility vividly illustrated—and when indignation glows against them, it is urged to join in the general cry for an "effective poor-law." Statistics are paraded—savings-banks are made to disclose their perplexing secrets—births, marriages, and deaths are counted up and compared—and to the mind baffled by all sorts of anomalous results, the shout comes home in louder and more imperative tones—"We must have an effective poor-law." All our passions are excited and appealed to in turn for the purpose of fastening upon Ireland an "effective poor-law."

Now, really, we must take leave to blow away some little of the dust thus assiduously thrown in the eyes of our reason, by inquiring, somewhat more particularly, what the precise end is which the poor-law principle is intended to secure for the Irish people. It is not proposed, then, as a means for staying the existing famine—other measures, temporary in their character, have been adopted by the Legislature with a view to that. What, then, is the problem which the poor-relief bill professes to solve? In what precise advantage is it meant to result? The support of the Irish poor by the property of Ireland? No!

The regular supply of food to the famishing, and clothing to the naked? No! It is utterly unfair to state it thus. The real object in view is, to bring the Irish population up to the mark of procuring food and clothing in exchange for labour—so to affect national character, so to reform ancient habits, so to adjust class relations, as that property shall be induced to give employment to poverty, and poverty made willing to purchase subsistence by industry. We have to do with a demoralized proprietary, and with an indolent people—to make the one both enterprising and careful, and to infuse into the other a spirit of self-reliance and activity—to make the interests of landlords, tenants, and labourers, identical. And this it is proposed to do by an "effective poor-law." Well, let us calmly look at the difficulties in the way—the probabilities of entire failure which present themselves.

The first and most obvious objection to this plan is, that you rely for its success upon a thrifless, encumbered, and unwilling body of proprietors. You place before them an alternative which you assume will be sufficiently stringent to compel improvement—the reproductive employment of labour on their estates, or the loss of those estates by poor-law demands. You know very well the position of these landlords—they confess themselves, for the most part, only the nominal owners of the acres they possess; as a race, they are hereditary spendthrifts, profuse in their expenditure to-day, in utter carelessness of beggary on the morrow. You acknowledge their present impotence for good, and, therefore, propose a loan for their assistance. What, now, can be expected from such a class? Enterprise, providence, activity? Not at all. These are qualities which no compulsion can impart. They will evade your law with an elaborate ingenuity which, if directed to the improvement of their property, would prove invaluable. They will practise every species of jobbing. They will grind down all unskilled labour to the lowest point of subsistence. Their whole effort will be to place the poor upon as miserable a footing as possible—to drive them by ill-treatment from the neighbourhood—to eke out the scanty wages of those who remain with a quota from the poor-rates—and to express feelings of deadly hatred towards the very class whom you employ them to improve. All this we have seen in England. What probability is there that the same evil will not develop itself in Ireland with tenfold rapidity?

You have to do, moreover, with an indolent people, whom you wish to discipline into habits of self-reliance and industry. How do you set about it? By giving them a right to relief, either in the workhouse, or out of it. Why, the very complaint you prefer against the Irish poor, is, that they prefer idleness, with a scanty subsistence, to full and regular employment with a moderate sufficiency. Have not your experiments under the Labour-rate Act convinced you of the danger of conceding any right to Irishman, but the right to earn his bread? What swarms of occupying tenants quitted their farms, to live upon the public funds! What is there to prevent the whole cottier and labouring population of Ireland, throwing themselves upon the poor-rates? Is there any element of their character to restrain them? Are they likely, thereby, to sink into lower depths of privation? What test will you apply to discriminate between the idle and vicious and the unfortunate and destitute? How will you elicit a spirit of independence? How elevate them to self-respect? The poor-law system will immeasurably aggravate the very evils of which we now most loudly complain—and, instead of raising and ameliorating the condition and character of the destitute Irish, will extend and perpetuate their demoralization.

There is a law of Providence which cannot be transgressed with impunity; it is this—"If any man will not work, neither let him eat." Industry is our only title to subsistence—we have no right to the means of life where we refuse to discharge the obligations of life. All poor-laws sin against this principle—not in intention, but, necessarily, in fact. And the consequences are inevitable. Just in proportion to the extent to which they are applied, they generate the spirit out of which poverty, in the majority of instances, arises. They multiply the evils which they are intended to cure. They crush the energies which they professedly aim to develop. They have now so formed the habits of our labouring poor that they cannot be suddenly withdrawn without perpetrating great cruelty, and ought not to be withdrawn until industry is put by law upon an equitable footing with property. But there is no good reason for repeating the blunder in Ireland. We discover neither the necessity for, nor the benevolence of, the much-vaunted project. Our effort should be to make the soil change hands—to drive it into the possession of men both willing and able to cultivate it thoroughly—to facilitate its transference to such as can develop its now half-buried resources—and, by the abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, by the resumption and sale of unreclaimed wastes, and other measures calculated to throw open the present strict monopoly of the soil, to give such opportunities for the outlay of capital in the steady employment of labour, as would ere long eradicate habits of idleness and dependence, and make Ireland indeed what she has been only in fiction—"first gem of the sea."

THE PRESS AND THE EDUCATIONAL MEASURE.

THE spirit in which the Government education scheme is received by the press is both significant and

remarkable. The *Times* of Saturday, in an article as untrue in its statement of facts as it is scurrilous in tone, cannot avoid rejoicing in a measure which provides with so little difficulty for an effectual system of Church extension. On the other hand, the *Morning Chronicle*, the staunchest supporter of State education, opposes with great earnestness and ability the Ministerial plan, chiefly on account of the immense power and patronage it throws into the hands of the clergy. The *Morning Advertiser*, decidedly the most consistent and Radical of the daily prints, objects to it on the same broad ground as ourselves. One liberal country journal stigmatizes Dissenters as a set of fanatical voluntaries, for their troublesome agitation. The bulk of the remainder, however, think otherwise, and are quite disposed to concur in describing the plan as unconstitutional and unjust. What has surprised us most, in observing the tone and temper of the public press, has been the strange part taken by our usually consistent contemporary, the *Inquirer*, the organ of the Unitarian body. Whilst other organs have been advancing, this has retrograded. The *Inquirer* must surely have wilfully shut his eyes to the real merits of the scheme before the country. A few weeks ago we should hardly have imagined it credible that a scheme denounced by the *Morning Chronicle* as "a system of spiritual despotism, unclogged by a single condition in favour of religious freedom, and totally exempt from legal responsibility," would be lauded by the *Inquirer*, hitherto a firm supporter of anti-state-church principles, and of the doctrine of self-reliance, as "liberal in its spirit, and calculated to stimulate voluntary efforts." "We trust our readers," says our easily-satisfied contemporary, "will look upon this matter as a measure of education, and strive to remedy its defects, and improve its provisions, but that they will not disgrace the Dissenters of England by coming before Government with speculations on the probable effect it may have in thinning their chapels, or showing the inefficiency of their schools." We are really grieved that a journal so honourably distinguished for its adherence to principle in opposition to the views of many of the most influential members of the denomination it represents, should exhibit so extraordinary a lack of information or of consistency. The able and masterly analysis of the Minutes published by the Central Committee, and given in another column, will so fully enlighten his mind that we are convinced he will see his error. Can the *Inquirer* be aware that the scheme, amongst other monstrous provisions, gives the Committee of Council of Education the power of requiring from Parliament unlimited supplies of the public money, without explanation, and by a single vote? that it compels the teaching of religion in all schools accepting Government aid, and of the Church Catechism in the Church of England schools? that it will create 88,000 new public functionaries, dependent upon Government, and that it will ultimately involve the expenditure of no less a sum than from one million and a half to two millions of money annually? We suppose not, or how could he be an advocate for popular rights and free religion? Will he be maintaining the voluntary principle by being compelled to contribute to the teaching of the Church Catechism?

But let us hear what the *Morning Chronicle* says; for the friends of this scheme will be more likely to give credit to the objections of a state educationist than of a mere voluntary:

"The first fact, then, to be borne in mind is, that, as the 'national' schools have received at least five-sixths of the previous grants, so they may be expected to receive five-sixths of the new salaries, and five-sixths of those Government offices which are to be bestowed as premiums for proficiency. The remaining sixth may be divided amongst British, Wesleyans, Roman Catholic, and other schools, and those parties may be satisfied with their respective crumbs; but our concern is with those schools which are to be the chief schools of the country—which will be, at least, fifteen thousand in number—and which will be the only schools for the poor in some thousands of parishes."

The great aim of the training-schools, we are told, is to produce a class of men who will use education as an instrument to extend Church authority, and that it is the settled purpose of those who manage these institutions to create or revive in the "national" schoolmasters an inferior order of clergy. Of the kind of education supplied at these training-schools we are supplied with much information. Mr. Coleridge, the President of the Chelsea Training College, mentions in his report that "a considerable portion of the time of the scholars is devoted to Church history, and the Thirty-nine Articles are not only learned by heart, but so thoroughly analysed and digested that the student has the answer to every heretical objection that may be made to them on the tip of his tongue." The object of these studies is indicated in a letter by Mr. Coleridge, published in the National Society's report of 1844.

"In applications for masters from this college, it is frequently—I may say, commonly—specified that the individual selected must not be merely a sound, but an intelligent Churchman, as the place is overrun with Dissenters; or again, that there is an excellent Roman Catholic school in the neighbourhood, where the children are taught gratuitously. That he must be a man of judgment, capable of dealing both with parents and children, &c. What sort of a man is here required, and how must he have been educated? How is he to be prepared to make good the ground which he occupies against the ultra-Wesleyan and the Jesuit, not to mention the Socialist and the Chartist? Must he not be trained much in the same way, though, of course, with a special adaptation, as if he were intended for a yet higher ministry? Let it not be supposed that any interference is intended with the peculiar province of the clergy. It is the clergy themselves who crave for this as-

sistance—overpowered by their work, and outnumbered by their opponents."

"This, we presume," says the *Chronicle*, "can leave no doubt as to the kind of men who are to be sent forth from the normal colleges, and to receive five-sixths of the Government salaries. They will be a new spiritual militia, a band of swordsmen, trained to fight the battles of the Church with Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, or any other sect which has a hold upon the mind of the humbler class." Should our uninquiring contemporary wish for an example of the mode in which this "liberal" measure will work, he will find it in the hand-bill circulated in Holbeck, and copied elsewhere. Will not the bribe thus held out to the poorer classes very soon be the means of shutting up all but church schools, and investing the State and the clergy with an amount of influence which will speedily extinguish the manly independence of the English character? We defy any unprejudiced man, at all acquainted with human nature, to arrive at any other conclusion.

ANNEXATION OF CRACOW.—MEETING IN FREEMASONS'-HALL.

THE "wrongs of unhappy Poland" have furnished a fruitful theme of eloquent declamation for three quarters of a century. There is something affecting in the entire extinction of a nation which has for centuries occupied an important position and exercised an important influence in the European family. The mind dwells only on the most favourable characteristics of a people who have "been unfortunate;" and on contemplating the present circumstances of those who on more than one occasion were the bulwarks of religion and liberty, we remember their deeds of prowess, and their learning, and forget that the former were as fitful and often as useless as they were brilliant, and that the latter was confined to a class unparalleled in history for perfidy, injustice, and oppression. This partial view of the case has excited much sympathy for Polish misfortunes; it is, however, as erroneous as it is common, and there was, perhaps, never so much fiction compressed into ten syllables, as in the line,

"Sarmatia fell unwept, without a crime."

The annals of Poland furnish a striking illustration of the evils of an oligarchical form of Government. The history of its eight centuries' existence as a kingdom is almost an unbroken narrative of anarchy and confusion. The power which the peculiar constitution of the country vested in the nobility rendered the king and the people alike the slaves of this privileged class; and the infatuated and perverse selfishness of the latter effectually prevented the prosperity and true greatness of the nation. The best intentions of their best kings were opposed in the most wanton manner; all taxation thrown upon the inhabitants of the towns, or upon the degraded and oppressed peasantry; trade and commerce were systematically and studiously discouraged; and every national interest was sacrificed to the maintenance and increase of the privileges of their order. We have no wish to palliate the enormous perfidy and injustice which were the immediate agents in the extinction of this country; but it is vain to disguise the truth that the destruction of Poland was a great moral and political necessity. It may suit the purpose of aristocratic sympathizers, and of historians who wish to exhibit an instance of the evils of democracy, to represent this nation as a republic, and the equestrian order as the "people;" but it is a complete deception. The interests of the two classes were, and are, as distinct as possible. Whatever may have been the effect of the partition of Poland on the nobility, the condition of the people, properly so called, has been immensely improved by it. Ever since that event, the prosperity of the lower classes, except when interfered with by the intrigues and rebellion of the nobles, has steadily increased; and any arrangement which restored the ancient order of things would be a serious injury to the great body of the people.

So far, therefore, as the meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern indicates a wish for the restoration of Poland, we have no sympathy with it; but as a protest against the infraction of treaties—its ostensible object—we cordially approve of it. Under present circumstances, the infringement of national compacts cannot occur without danger to peace. We are quite aware how frequently they are concluded without any intention to observe them longer than necessity compels, or an opportunity of breaking them occurs; but this is all the more reason why honest and honourable men should denounce the royal or right honourable tricksters by whom they are thus violated. We are quite aware, also, how often they are entered into with a blind disregard of circumstances which render their observance, for any long time, impossible; but when these circumstances do arise, they must be as obvious to one party as to another, and the stipulations effected by them may no doubt be altered or annulled by mutual arrangement. Possibly, the nations which have effected the absorption of Cracow had good reason for so doing. It is not unlikely that this last fragment of a troublesome nation endangered the peace of its neighbours, and this might be a reason for altering, by mutual consent, stipulations in its favour, but none for violating them against the wish of other parties concerned. Intelligently made, and faithfully observed, treaties are, to some extent, at least, guarantees of peace, and, interested as we are in the preservation of the latter, we cannot afford to lose any means by which it may be maintained.

Public meetings of our countrymen can hardly be

less profitably employed than in discussing foreign politics; but the question before us is more one of morals than of policy, and we see no objection to the right of public judgment being exercised in reference to it. We have much faith in the power of an enlightened public opinion, and are disposed to think that the moral force of the resolutions of an English meeting will be as effectual as the protest of any "Excellency" in the diplomatic corps. But, even if the course does no good, it costs nothing, and does no harm; which, unfortunately, is more than can be said of the usual modes of securing the performance of treaties.

It will be perceived by the speech of Lord John Russell, on this subject, that the "manifest violation" of the treaty of Vienna does not relieve us from the liabilities of the Russo-Dutch loan. However clearly the law may be in our favour, it appears that in justice we are bound to continue the payment.

We wish treaties were always interpreted on the same principles. We remember, when the interests of certain powerful monopolists were involved, much special pleading by which the claims of justice were sacrificed to a strained meaning of the letter of a treaty. There are no such disturbing influences here, however; Mr. Hume's motion will, no doubt, be rejected, and the money still paid. We wonder if any international arrangement could possibly occur that would put money into the pockets of poor John Bull.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE WORKING OF THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BRIBE.

(From the *Leeds Mercury*.)

The following announcement, published as a handbill in Holbeck, a large township of the borough of Leeds, serves to show the manner in which the Government Plan of Education will be worked, so as to fill the Church schools, and empty the schools of Dissenters who conscientiously decline to accept the Government grants:

HOLBECK CHURCH SCHOOL,

CONDUCTED BY MR. THOMAS COX,

(From the *National Society's Training College, Battersea, London*.)

The managers of the Church School, Holbeck, invite the attention of parents to the very important advantages which their children may derive from becoming scholars in it, in consequence of the recent resolutions of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education.

By virtue of the assistance therein promised to schools properly organized under a regularly trained master, the managers of the Church School will be able within the next six months to select six, or more, of their best scholars, boys and girls, to be ASSISTANT TEACHERS FOR FIVE YEARS, and to obtain for them the following salaries, namely—

| | £. s. d. |
|----------------------------------|----------|
| At the end of the 1st year | 10 0 0 |
| " 2nd year | 13 10 0 |
| " 3rd year | 13 0 0 |
| " 4th year | 17 10 0 |
| " 5th year | 20 0 0 |

At the expiration of the 5th year, still further advantages are held out to the deserving, amounting almost to a PROVISION FOR LIFE, &c., &c.

Now it is impossible for any man possessing common sense, much more for any man having the slightest experience, either of schools or of popular elections, to doubt what the effect of the system will be. Here we see the managers of the Church school calculating upon it. They see clearly enough that it will operate as a bribe to the poor to send their children to the Church school. They put prominently forward the pecuniary advantages of the system. The Government is to give the money, and the "managers of the Church school will be able to obtain" it.

Can it for an instant be doubted that, at the very next election, the parents of the children will be made distinctly to understand that the appointment of their children will depend upon the pleasure of the Government inspector and the parochial clergyman?

If this should not be made a mighty engine of Government and clerical influence to carry elections, human nature must have altogether changed.

It is superfluous to say, that such announcements as the above will be made everywhere, in one form or another, and the certain effect will be to lure children away from the schools of Dissenters (both day and Sunday schools) to the Church schools; and, ere long, to destroy the former.

Will the working classes consent to the establishment of a system which will make them into ABJECT DEPENDANTS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CLERGY, and thus annihilate public virtue—the only real safeguard of public liberty! We hope they will, like honest Englishmen, reject the bribe with disdain and abhorrence.

We learn from the above how eagerly the managers of the National and Church schools will put them into a position to apply for the Government grants; and how speedily we may expect the public expenditure to be brought up to the amount which has already been shown to be probable.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE NEW GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION.—The Central Committee appointed to aid in the opposition to the measure of education contained in the Minutes of Council, is composed of a considerable number of the most active and influential ministers and members of the various bodies opposed to the scheme. Among other bodies, the Congregational Board of Education, the Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, the Committee of Deputies, and the Executive Committee of the Anti-state-church Association, have appointed deputations to represent them on the Committee. A treasurer and secretaries have, also, been appointed; the valuable services of the Secretary of the Congregational Board of Education having been received in the latter capacity. It will be seen that the Committee sits daily at eleven o'clock, at the King's Head, Poultry; and that daily attendance is given from ten to four o'clock. Amongst the contributors to its funds we find the names of S. Morley, Esq., for £10; Thomas Spalding, Esq., £10; James

Carter, Esq., £10; Thomas Pewtress, Esq., £5; and Charles Reed, Esq., £2 2s.

DEPUTATION TO LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—A deputation from the Committee of the Baptist Union, consisting of the treasurer, Mr. Lowe, the secretary, the Rev. J. H. Hinton, and the Rev. Dr. Cox, had an interview, on Monday morning, with the Lord President of the Council, who was attended by Mr. Kay Shuttleworth, upon the subject of the Government measure on Education. We understand that the deputation were courteously received, but left with the impression that Government are as yet unshaken in their determination to maintain the position they have taken up.—*Patriot.*

OPPOSITION MEETING AT LEEDS.
(Abridged from the *Leeds Mercury*.)

A respectable and rather numerous meeting took place in East-parade (Independent) chapel, Leeds, on Tuesday evening last, in opposition to the scheme of national education proposed by her Majesty's Ministers. Edward Baines, Esq., presided. Amongst those present were Revs. R. W. Hamilton, D.D., Thos. Scales, John Ely, Wm. Hudswell, J. H. Morgan, J. Peters, E. Brown; Messrs. P. Williams, James Richardson, E. Baines, jun., W. West, F.R.S., W. Kensall, Henry Rawson, Sm. Hick, Nathaniel Dixon, John Dickinson, O. Brooke, jun., J. H. Whitehead, W. Bruce, J. W. Smith, W. S. Hanson, G. W. England, T. Wilkinson, E. Morgan, J. Wilkinson, J. Rinder, C. Loe, Abm. Naylor, C. Heaps, jun., J. N. Dickinson, J. Holroyd, R. B. Edmonds, J. Y. Knight, John Wade, S. Topham, J. W. Hughes, &c.

At the commencement of the proceedings, the Rev. Thomas Scales gave out a hymn, and then engaged in prayer.

The CHAIRMAN then briefly addressed the meeting. He said he had been called upon rather unexpectedly to preside over this meeting, and he believed he should best discharge his duty by stating very shortly the object for which the meeting was convened. It was called for the purpose of taking into consideration the plan that had been promulgated by her Majesty's Ministers, in the person of the President of the Council, Lord Lansdowne, for giving state education, for giving instruction to the people by means of efforts and gratuitous made by the State; and it had been called also for the purpose of receiving a report from the ministers and other gentlemen who were deputed by the meeting recently held in this town, to make a representation of the views entertained by that meeting to the Government.

The Rev. Dr. HAMILTON rose to move the first resolution. He was received with applause. He said—

Mr. Chairman, fellow-Christians, and fellow-citizens, proud should I have felt had this spacious sanctuary been thronged. Much gratified should I have been if this place had been too strait for us. But I never have yet been discouraged in the cause of civil and religious liberty. I have far more frequently been in a minority than in the majority, but from those minorities what glorious and triumphant majorities have sprung [applause]! I have often seen an apparently failing cause, but I have watched it to its success and its victory; and we begin this evening; we sound the alarm—the alarm shall spread, a panic we will not call it, but the deep sentiment shall take hold of the public mind, and men who now waver, and men who now obsequiously and sycophantically cringe, shall ere long stand erect in the noble ranks and host of Christian freemen [hear, hear]. The minds of Englishmen must be convinced; we cannot take that mind by storm; it is a solid mind; it must be worked, and we can only work it by a slow and gradual process. But then the more deliberate, the longer and the more patient the process, the longer and the larger shall be the results. And, therefore, looking around upon this assembly—oh, believe it, this is but the specimen, and the earnest, an awakening after stupor and sleep [hear]. Men have very generally been imposed upon. The question of education has been made specious and plausible; every image has been borrowed—parental instruction itself; and we have been told if “parents should give good gifts unto their children,” and should discipline and instruct them, surely a parental government should do the same. But there is the inconsistency. The analogy destroys itself; for if parents are to do it, governments cannot do it [cheers]. It is reasoning upon a metaphor, a vice in all logic, and from which we should all disclaim. I come not to quarrel with the bill—would that it were a bill, as we could the better oppose it! I come not to quarrel with the measure itself, but the principle which it involves, and the tendency of it as necessarily mischievous [hear]. What is it? It is to offer a bribe and a lure. If we were in a perfect condition of human nature—if all Christians stood high to measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, and were saturated with his spirit, I would not care for Greek or Trojan bringing their gifts. I should see there no snare. But I have to deal with imperfect human nature when under the influence of divine principle; and I cannot conceive but that a bribe and a lure have this very property—to debauch and corrupt the mind—but what may follow is a corollary. We feel it to be a hardship when so much has been done, that there should come in—not so much the rude hand of violence—that we could resist; but that there should come a grievous and sinister policy in order to destroy that good. I weep for human nature—I weep for the dwarfish Christianity among us, when I see that the voluntary cannot stand within the shadow of that system now proposed. You cannot work the one and the other together. The voluntary will destroy the compulsory; the compulsory will destroy the voluntary. There is a good sentiment in the old divines, “prayer will make men leave off sinning, or sinning will make men leave off praying;” and I am sure there will be this eternal antagonism between that of force and that of free will [hear, hear].

The reverend doctor concluded an eloquent speech by moving the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That this meeting regards with the liveliest satisfaction the rapid extension of day and Sunday schools, which is proved by official documents to have taken place in this country during the last thirty years; that, in the opinion of this meeting, this extension is the result of the voluntary efforts of enlightened and Christian men; and that with the continuance of those efforts, combined with the rapidly improving quality of education, and the growing sense amongst parents of its vast importance to their children, there is every reason to expect the happiest results in the general education of the people.

WILLIAM WEST, Esq. (of the Society of Friends), came forward to second the resolution with pain: he meant, when he said that, when they, the friends of

freedom, of just and proper freedom in this respect and in every department, seem, in the face of great discouragement, to have accomplished a most important victory—that now we should have to plead, as for a new thing, in behalf of the freedom of education [applause].

The resolution was put and unanimously adopted. The Rev. THOMAS SCALES moved the next resolution, to the effect—

That the measure of her Majesty's Ministers, for promoting education at the public expense, and under the control of the Committee of Council on Education, as contained in the “Minutes of the Council on Education in August and December, 1846,” is viewed in this meeting, and among the friends of Christianity in this and other places, with the strongest feelings of alarm and disapprobation.

He did not hesitate to adopt that resolution, and to commend it to the meeting as containing sentiments which ought to be cherished. He regarded the measure itself, and the manner in which it was introduced and intended to be carried, with unqualified dissatisfaction and displeasure; and he had determined to bring all the energies he could command to bear upon it, in resisting it to the utmost, as a measure most unconstitutional, most unrighteous, and most mischievous [applause].

PETER WILLIAMS, Esq., briefly seconded the motion, which was adopted without a dissentient.

JAMES RICHARDSON, Esq. (Baptist), came forward to propose the next resolution.

The Rev. JOHN PETERS (Wesleyan Association) seconded the resolution. In reference to his own community, he expressed a conviction that there never was a question on which greater unanimity of thinking existed, and on which there would be greater unanimity of action than upon that which was now engaging their attention; and he was prepared to say that they would use every means to oppose it [cheers]. He rejoiced in one thing, that the measure had brought together two classes of Dissenters. He believed it only required a few days to develop the vast feeling that was lying comparatively latent with respect to this question.

This resolution, like all the rest, was carried unanimously.

The Rev. JOHN ELY (Independent) moved the next resolution.

It grieved him that they should have to dilate upon topics like those contained in the resolution. Taxation was mentioned in the resolution. His friend Mr. Edward Baines's calculations were said to be enormous and extravagant. He (Mr. Ely) believed that they were rather under than over the amount [hear, hear]. But he (Mr. Ely) conceived there was another mistake in Mr. Baines's calculations. He had calculated what the system would cost practically, if adopted, with the exception of the parties who would refuse Government aid. He might have calculated what it would cost hypothetically, if adopted by the country at large. This was not the first case which they had been called upon to resist, nor, unless this was most decidedly opposed, were they to expect that this would be the last case. He could not understand how a school was to be conducted without intermingling religion. Were we to have a mere *hortus siccus* presented to the child? Our teaching must have sentiment. We could not teach a child history without sentiments bearing upon morals and religion, and would the religious master allow any Government to step in and say, “You may impart secular information, but, though that boy should be disobedient and swear, you shall import no religious teaching; you shall not represent him on religious grounds, nor lay down a religious inculcation?” Our religious men would all retire in disgust from the office. And then who would be the teachers of our youth? The men who would be content entirely to abstain from imparting religious education—the privileged and the infidel [hear, hear]. And would they entrust their rising youth to them? [“No, no.”] But why not accept for religious education Government aid? For precisely the same reason that they refused to accept it for the support and propagation of religion itself. The Voluntaries felt the position in which they were placed by this measure, the grievances inflicted upon them, and they uplifted the voice of complaint. The scheme would give unmeasured power into the hands of clergymen. There was another view of this matter, as a religious question, that could not fail to impress us. If it is not to be money appropriated to the Established Church, then it is to be appropriated indiscriminately to all systems of religion. Then the Roman Catholic and the Unitarian, the Independent, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, and the Church of England, if they will, were all equally participants; and then they and he were to contribute to Roman Catholicism, and to the creed of Unitarianism. He spoke not disrespectfully of these parties. It was an obvious matter, that if they were honest men, they were at the utter antipodes with the corruptions of the one and the errors of the other; and yet they were called upon to contribute to the upholding of those systems at the same juncture that they had to uphold the system of the Established Church [hear, hear].

S. HICK, Esq., seconded the resolution.

The Rev. WILLIAM HUDSWELL then moved a petition to Parliament, embodying the resolution. It struck him that a consequence of the enjoyment of freedom, was that there must rise up and will rise up from time to time circumstances to keep us awake to the subject, and he looked upon this as one of them. We must not be allowed to go to sleep, and if for a little time we were found napping such things would be found to take place. At such a time the new poor-law was introduced. We knew the influence of that measure in the exclusion of Dissenting ministers from our poor-house [hear]. It was necessary at this juncture to be alive lest our liberties by this measure should be further infringed upon. He pointed out some of the incentives to voluntaryism, and remarked that he as a voluntary would rather give a sovereign voluntarily, than have a shilling taken from his pocket [hear, hear].

EDWARD BAINES, jun., Esq., seconded the adoption of the petition, and was received with loud applause:—

Late though it was, he said, they would bear with him a few minutes, while he expressed to them his solemn assurance that this was an occasion not likely to occur monthly, not likely to occur yearly, but once only in all their lives. Never had there been, in his life, a time fraught with danger so imminent, not only to the precious and priceless liberty, but to the still more priceless virtue and independence, of Englishmen [hear, hear]. The remark with which he would commence the few observations he had to make would be in correction of a misconception on the part of his worthy pastor, the Rev. Mr. Ely, who had stated that he (Mr. Baines) had under-estimated the expense of the

Government scheme in this way—that he had calculated only those schools which would accept Government aid, and had not included those schools which would reject it. He certainly did not allow much for the schools of Dissenters who would reject any grant, because he very well knew that none could be kept in existence [hear, hear]. They would be destroyed and swallowed up by the Church, if the measure were carried into effect. Therefore they need not speculate upon what they would do with their schools when the measure was carried: their schools would be gone [hear, hear]. Yes, their day-schools would be gone, their Sabbath-schools would be impoverished, and their congregations would, at the same time, be impoverished and weakened. He knew that in many minds there was a lurking feeling that it was desirable that Government should give aid to the people in their efforts for education. Now that rested on a laudable feeling—that education is an excellent thing. Upon that all agreed [hear, hear]. But in looking upon the project of Government education, they must consider two things: first, that Government support never can be given impartially; and secondly, that it cannot be rendered, and yet leave the education of the country free [applause]. Not impartial, because their principles induced them to say, “We cannot, and we will not, come what may, receive one farthing of Government money for our schools.” Therefore, as they could not receive that money, as they would not receive it, it must be obvious to all that from the time the measure is passed, their (the Dissenters') money must be taken along with the public money to support other schools; so that they would share in the expense, but would not participate in the benefits [hear, hear]. That was an important and decisive objection to Government support of education. But the next was even a more important objection—that Government support cannot be rendered to education, and leave it free; and for this reason, that it would not be consistent with their duty to give the public money without seeing the way in which it was applied. It was essential that the Administration and Parliament should see that the money was properly applied; they would not be doing their duty unless they did so [hear, hear]. They must look to the expenditure, inspect the schools, and exercise their judgment as to the nature of the education given. Inspection without the exercise of this judgment would be ridiculous; and if, upon the exercise of this judgment, Government should continue or withdraw the money advances, then they would exercise nothing less than a control [hear, hear]. This is the newest and best possible mode of gaining a despotic influence over a people—not the power of absolute despotism, but the power of the purse. The most stringent and absolute master is the paymaster. Let these two truths remain fixed in their minds, namely, that although education is an excellent thing, it is not possible that it can receive Government support without making that support partial, in favour of one portion of the community and to the injury of another; and next that they cannot do it without destroying the freedom of education, which of all things is most essential to independence and liberty of mind, whether considered in relation to individuals or as applied to the public. But it had been stated that he had enormously exaggerated, in stating the amount of money which would be required to carry this Government scheme into effect [hear, hear]. He, however, received with much satisfaction what had fallen from his friends, Mr. Richardson and Mr. Hudswell, who declared that, having looked at the plan, they did not believe he had exaggerated the expenditure, or the number of persons brought under the influence of Government. But the papers of that day contained a statement from the Prime Minister that he did not intend to ask this year for a larger grant in aid of education than was made last year, namely, £100,000 [hear, hear]. Now, he (Mr. Baines) had said that no great sum of money could be claimed the first year, because the several schools intending to claim could not make their preparations in time to entitle them to money the first year. But it was their duty to look to the natural operation of the measure, and while they saw the system of grants, gratuities, and pensions to schoolmasters and pupil teachers, to stipendiary monitors, cultivators of field gardens, managers of workshops, superintendents of washhouses and kitchens, to persons employed at the head office in London to superintend the vast mass of machinery, he contended that it was impossible to carry the measure out without an enormously large addition to the sum now asked for [applause]. He said it with pain, that if Lord John Russell asked for £100,000 this year, and did not state what he would ask hereafter, he would be practising a palpable delusion, he would be withholding the truth; and at a convenient time, when the next general election shall have passed, he will bring the measure into full operation [hear, hear]. If the members of the House of Commons allowed themselves to be cajoled in this way, he would be driven to the conviction that they had lost the character and spirit of our representatives in former ages [applause]. He should tremble for the liberties of this country if he saw that, through a wish to introduce State education, their representatives should go blindly into the adoption of this measure, which would, more than any former Government project, extend the Crown influence, and push it into every corner and cranny of the land [hear, hear]. He believed, as had been stated by Mr. Ely, that the whole body of the working classes would be brought under the practical influence of the Government by this measure, for there would be no less than 60,000 persons employed as school assistants. All these would be brought under the direct pay of Government; and not only this—one child in every twenty-five will become a pupil teacher or stipendiary monitor. Every child would, therefore, enter the school with the hope, on his own part, and on the part of his parents, that he would be made either a pupil-teacher or a stipendiary monitor; and, in one way or the other, get provided for by Government for life. He would leave them to consider what the effect of such a system must be in the case of an election for this town. Suppose this system existing in this town at an election, and every father believing that on sending his child to school, he may obtain provision for his offspring for life; and feeling that before such advantage can accrue to his child, the approbation of the inspectors and clergy was to be obtained; could any man who ever assisted in a canvass, or took part in an election, doubt what would be the effect when a voice was to be raised or a vote to be recorded? This measure would carry far deeper and further and wider than any previous measure a systematic corruption of the people of this country [hear, hear]. Now, let him say that it was perfectly true, as stated by Mr. Ely, that, if once carried, the measure was altogether irrevocable. Parliament having committed its faith to these pupil teachers, stipendiary monitors, inspectors, and others, they would have no power to revoke the system once established—unless they contemplated a breach of public faith, the system once adopted was adopted for ever. The present was the time or never; and they must now put into operation all the influence which they could constitutionally employ to defeat the measure [applause]. He knew that he was appealing to thinking men who would weigh these considerations, and if they found them true, they would act according to the dictates of their consciences. If, within three

or four weeks a system was intended to be established which would be pregnant with the consequences which they had that evening described, let them press it on their consciences how each and all could best exercise their influence to defeat this measure [hear]. The question must not be put aside—the measure must be defeated now or never. One word in the way of encouragement. Many persons have been brought over to view the Government scheme of education in the light they saw it [applause] by the discussions of the last few months; and even while he spoke conversions were rapidly going on. One of the daily papers, perhaps the most determined supporter of Government education from the first—the *Morning Chronicle*—had now come forward and declared, that if this measure be carried it will be fatal to the liberties of the country [loud cheers]. And it did not state this from any sympathy with him, as in the very article where this was declared, he was charged with enormously exaggerating the influence it would give the Crown [hear]. But it admitted that the influence of the Church would, by it, be absolute over the State. The State will have to do its bidding; and the clergyman will have influence over every family in the land. There was no despotism so bitter, so intolerant, and so detestable, as ecclesiastical and clerical despotism. [Mr. Baines concluded by reading the prayer of the petition, and resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.]

At the close of Mr. E. Baines's remarks a vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to the Chairman, and the meeting then separated.

LIVERPOOL.

(From our Correspondent.)

On Thursday last a meeting was held in Newington Chapel, convened by a circular signed by the following ministers:—J. Lister and R. B. Lancaster (Baptists); Dr. Raffles, J. Kelly, and W. Bevan (Independents); and W. Graham (Scotch Secession);—“to consider the proposals of Government in regard to national education, and to determine what steps ought to be taken in the matter.” At the hour of meeting there was a numerous attendance of ministers and influential laymen from various Dissenting congregations. Thomas Blackburn, Esq., was called to the chair. Prayer having been offered by Mr. R. B. Lancaster,

The CHAIRMAN remarked that constant watchfulness was essential to the maintenance of freedom. He had hoped that the failure of the Factory Bill would have taught the Legislature such a salutary lesson as would have deterred it from attempting anything of the kind again, but he had been mistaken. The educational scheme introduced by the Marquis of Lansdowne was of a far more objectionable character, and its coming from the party now in office was an aggravation of its offensiveness—it was like turning their artillery upon their friends; and this rendered the case more difficult; for on this occasion the Nonconformists were likely to have the work exclusively in their own hands. Nevertheless, he trusted they were prepared to do their duty. If the contriver of the measure had intended to uproot the institutions of Dissent, he could not have done it in a more subtle and suitable manner. It was his opinion that Government interference with education must be entirely abandoned. Such were the apathy and depravity of multitudes of parents with regard to religion, that, if the young generally are to have religious education at all, common day-school tuition must be connected with religious instruction. He hoped, therefore, that the Dissenters of Liverpool would take the only firm and stable ground upon which they could oppose the measure—that education be entrusted solely to voluntary benevolence. He regarded the early and numerous attendance at this meeting as a favourable omen that Liverpool would offer a vigorous resistance to the measure. Another ground of hope he derived from the evangelical clergy; for, if the measure became law, then Mahomedanism might be endowed. Civil justice would require that all should be used alike, and the principle also leads to the endowment of the Romish Church: he thought, therefore, that the evangelical clergy would have no alternative but to aid us with their opposition.

Mr. J. KELLY having explained the circumstances which led to their meeting, proceeded to state, from a copy of the “Minutes of Council,” the principal objections to the Government measure. He adverted to the immense increase of patronage and influence which it would place in the hands of Ministers, and the violation of constitutional principle involved in the annual appropriation of nearly two millions of taxation without the consent of the people. He might be told that the grant could be refused in passing the “estimates,” but, as it had been observed elsewhere, this was like advising a poor man to seek redress by the institution of a Chancery suit. The inquisitorial minute which authorizes the unnatural separation of the apprentice pupil from his home he justly denounced as un-English and monstrous. It was the first time anything of this kind of continental system had been attempted in this country. The effect of another minute upon Church of England schools was to compel instruction in the Church catechism, notwithstanding the conscientious objections of many Churchmen to that catechism; and it would hand over the religious instruction of the pupils in those schools to the “Tractarians,” for the clerical inspectors in the rural districts would be derived chiefly from that party. The inspectors in towns also were sure to be Churchmen, and to such, Dissenters would be required to testify, as to the religious instruction of their pupils. Mr. Kelly dwelt forcibly upon the ultimate crushing effect, of what he fairly designated the Government Bribe, upon the day and Sunday-schools of Dissenters. Who could estimate the influence upon a parent of a certain provision for his child? A situation under Government! for if the apprentice pupils are ultimately pronounced unfit for teachers, a place is to be provided for them in the Customs, or Excise; and what other effect can these inducements have, than to draw away children to the endowed schools? He said, we must henceforth look carefully to the principles of things, and not to men. The grounds of our action should be, that Government has no right to interfere at all with education, it is beyond their province; this is the wisest, the safest, and the surest course for us to pursue; and any other would give rise to endless tinkering and trouble. He would suggest a public meeting on an early day at Great

George-street (Dr. Raffles’s) Chapel, and the delivery of lectures upon the subject at various chapels by ministers and laymen. Personally he felt the greatest reluctance to public speaking, but he could not forsake the claims of public liberty. No faith, he said, could be put in the professed liberality of public men. It was cheering to know that a general election must soon take place, and he thought the prospects of Lord Morpeth, of Mr. Wood, of Sir C. Grey, and others, would be far from encouraging, if the Government measures were forced upon the country.

Dr. RAFFLES, who was unable to be present at the commencement of the meeting, having just arrived from Manchester, now rose and said he had hitherto entertained the opinion that Government might do something safely for the extension of education by assisting in the erection of schools for instance, but his opinion had been changed; and, as he must immediately leave the meeting, he would only add that, with respect to education he would respectfully request Government to let us alone altogether, and that if a public meeting were thought desirable, he should be happy if it were held in Great George-street Chapel.

Mr. D. ROWLAND (Wesleyan Association) said, that he was happy to inform the meeting that the religious body with which he was connected were already “up and doing,” and he begged to inquire if there would be time for petitioning after a public meeting, in the event of such a meeting being held next week.

Mr. KELLY intimated that there would be time.

The CHAIRMAN then gave the substance and issue of a correspondence upon the subject of National Education and the proposals of Government which had taken place between Wm. Brown, Esq., M.P. for the Southern division of the county, and himself, in which he had instructed Mr. Brown as to the difficulty in which the measure would place the Dissenters of the Southern division on the day of election if their present representative were favourable to that measure. The meeting would be glad to know that Mr. Brown was opposed to all Government grants for educational purposes. The principle of non-interference of Government was what was urged upon Lord J. Russell by the Dissenting deputation in a recent interview, to which his lordship smartly responded, “Why, that would go to condemn all that Government had done in behalf of education.” “Quite so,” was the reply, “that is just what we mean.” Prior to this, his lordship had manifested the utmost freedom, and a readiness to adapt the Government measure to a more general approval, but now his countenance fell, and, resuming his seat, he sustained a perfect silence for some time.

THOMAS BULLEY, Esq., rose, and earnestly called upon his Dissenting friends to oppose to the uttermost this insidious and most threatening measure. He had for some time past painfully observed indications that Lord John Russell was going wrong; but, alarming as the crisis appeared, the energy and union which the “houses of York and Lancaster” were presenting afforded the most hopeful prospect.

Dr. CRAICHTON wished to be informed of the ground to be taken in originating an opposition in Liverpool. He advised that it should be to oppose the meddling of Government with education altogether.

On the motion of Mr. W. BEVAN, it was unanimously carried that the basis of action in Liverpool be that it is beyond the province of Government to interfere in any way with the education of the people.

A committee was then formed to make arrangements for future proceedings. Mr. D. Loxton, Independent minister, was chosen convener, and Samuel Stitt, Esq., treasurer. Several contributions were then handed in, and it was understood that a public meeting would be held at Great George-street Chapel, on Thursday next, March 11th. The meeting then broke up, and, whether we regard the individuals present and the sentiments they expressed, or the life and unanimity which prevailed, we can scarcely refrain from the joyful exclamation “What hath God wrought!” Verily, the “Minutes of Council” have operated wonderfully in elucidating the simplicity and majesty of great and sound principles, and in purging effectually away lingering predilections for State endowments. Yet, while there is a Church connected with the State, we shall have grounds for alarm, and so long it would become us the more, as men who know and love our distinguishing principles, instead of wasting our energies and time in warding off the incessant attacks of the unholy alliance, to gird up our loins and desist not until we have severed for ever the union whose offspring are ever attempting, by bribe, or artifice, or power, to lay our necks in the dust.

HUDDERSFIELD.—On Tuesday evening, a meeting of Congregational Dissenters was held in Ramsden-street Chapel, Huddersfield, to take into consideration the Government Plan of Education, in order to oppose it in all its stages. The meeting was numerously attended by Dissenting ministers and friends of education. On the platform were W. Stancliffe, Esq., of Hopton; T. Plint, Esq., of Leeds; R. G. Jackson, Esq., and W. Willans, Esq., of Huddersfield; Joseph Batley, Esq., of Armitage Bridge; and Messrs. Richard Skinner, of Ramsden-street Chapel; John Glendenning, of Highfield Chapel; W. Cocker, New Connexion Wesleyan; John Cockin, of Holmfirth; Christian Henry Bateman, of Hopton Independent Chapel; and John Barker, of Lockwood Chapel, ministers. None of the Wesleyan ministers were present, but many of their lay brethren were in the chapel. The resolutions were unanimously adopted, including one opposed to all Government interference with education.

MEETING OF THE BAPTISTS OF BRADFORD.—The Baptist congregations of Bradford held a meeting in Westgate chapel, on Wednesday evening, for the purpose of adopting measures for opposing the propositions of her Majesty’s Government for the endowment of schools under State instruction and State influence. Upon the platform were Messrs. H. Dowson, Dr. Godwin, J. Acworth, F. Clowes, J. Macpherson, P. Scott, J. G. Rodway, T. Pottinger, S. Hughes, ministers; and Messrs. James Hepper, J. V. Godwin, George D. Illingworth, P. Hainsworth, &c., &c. The proceedings were characterized by a strong and unanimous feeling

of hostility to the Government scheme; and strong and decided resolutions condemning the measure, all Government interference, recommending active agitation, and thanking Mr. Baines for his exertions in the cause of free education, were adopted. In moving the first resolution, Mr. Acworth, the President of Horton College, said—

Was it said that the present scheme was in accordance with the wishes of the people? He did hope, and from his very heart he believed that there was too strong and devoted an attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, to allow such a slur as this to rest upon them—but let them by corresponding movements convince the Government that there was a very large proportion of the people who would not thus allow their convictions to be trifled with [cheers]. And he for one was prepared, with the editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, to concur in regarding this measure as a stab at civil and religious liberty, and prepared to do whatever his country would allow to withstand and repel it [cheers]. With this view, he should do all that he could to extend the principles of the Anti-state-church Association, and that principle which goes to the base of the suffrage, or if they would, Chartism itself [loud cheers].

Dr. Godwin spoke of the support given by Dissenters to the Whigs—

Dissenters did feel pained and wounded in their feelings, that, after all the support the Whigs had received from the Nonconformists, this was the return they should receive. This was a lesson they must not forget. In future they must trust to themselves, and be careful how they identified themselves with any party. Let those who support this measure be made to feel their position on the day of election [hear, hear]. He would exhort, entreat, conjure all Nonconformists to have nothing to do with these grants. Rather let them put their hands more deeply into their own pockets, and labour more diligently than heretofore, in their high vocation [hear, hear],—than touch this State money, the enslaving Government grant. If the Government were determined to pass this obnoxious measure, let the responsibility be upon the Government and those who had supported them. To all Nonconformists he would earnestly say—“Touch not, taste not, handle not” [loud and repeated plaudits].

Referring to the exertions of Mr. E. Baines, jun., Mr. Clowes said—

He (Mr. Baines) had kept his patience as long as he could, but at last he said he could bear it no longer; Whigs or Tories, he must oppose tooth and nail his old friends [hear, hear]. They were glad to see Mr. Baines come out with principle. They were glad to see him sprinkled in principle, but they wished him to become baptized in principle [laughter and cheers]. They would cordially go on together with Mr. Baines so long as he would continue his present course. If he went on as he was now going on, he for one, and he dare say a great many more, would be heartily glad to see Mr. Baines Member of Parliament for Leeds [cheers]. Nay, they would be glad to see him Member for the West Riding [renewed cheers]. Nay, more, he (Mr. Clowes) would borrow money to buy a £50 vote for him; and the way they would send him up to St. Stephen’s he would suggest should be, by engaging two locomotives, one to be named “Anti-state-church Association,” and the other “The Charter” or “Complete Suffrage.” These two engines would, as Ministers are now going on, become the only popular engines among the Dissenters, and would drag dissenting voters to St. Stephen’s, and he hoped Mr. Baines would be one of the first to go express [loud cheers].

MEETING AT HALIFAX.—A preliminary meeting (convened by circular) of the ministers and other influential members of Independent congregations at Halifax and the district, was held in Square Chapel, on Tuesday, to confer and determine as to what course should be taken by that body with regard to the proposed Government measure of education. Mr. Oates, architect, occupied the chair. The following ministers and gentlemen were present, and took part in the proceedings:—Rev. J. Pridee, Rev. J. Bell, Brighouse; Rev. Mr. Rollensod, of Stainland; Rev. Mr. Schwan, of Bramley-lane; Rev. Mr. Preston, of Mixenden; Rev. Mr. Reader, of Elland; Rev. Mr. Jones, of Sowerby-bridge; Rev. D. Jones, of Booth; Rev. Amos Blackburn, Rev. Mr. Breerley, Mr. James Haigh, Mr. Thomas Moorhouse, &c. The speeches were animated, and the meeting came to a unanimous determination to oppose, by every constitutional means, this dangerous and insidious measure; and, as the first step for that purpose, petitions to both Houses of Parliament were commenced, and are in course of signature. Next week it is probable that a more general meeting of ministers of this denomination, and their congregations, will be held for the same object.—*Leeds Mercury*.

MEETING AT WAKEFIELD.—On Wednesday evening, a very numerous audience assembled in the *Wesleyan Chapel*, West-parade, Wakefield, for the purpose of receiving a deputation from Leeds respecting the Government scheme of education. Mr. G. B. Macdonald, the minister of the chapel, Mr. J. D. Lorraine, minister of Zion Chapel, Wakefield, and Mr. John Ely, minister of Leeds, were in the pulpit. After singing and prayer, Mr. Macdonald, the chairman, introduced Mr. Ely, of Leeds, to the meeting, who, at some length, described the nature and tendency of the Government scheme. Mr. Ely’s address was received with loud and continued applause, and was listened to with the most profound attention. Mr. G. B. Macdonald said whatever difference of opinion there might be between Wesleyans and Independents, in their opinion of this Government measure they would be united [hear]. The Wesleyans in Wakefield had proved what voluntary effort could do in the cause of education; they had built schools at a cost of between two and three thousand pounds, and, when they were erecting the building, some individuals recommended the applying for a Government grant, but this was declined, and the consequence was they were not troubled with the delightful visits of Government inspectors. The Wesleyans would join the Independents in their noble stand against the oppressive measure brought out by her Majesty’s Government [hear, hear]. A vote of thanks to Mr. Ely for his able address was unanimously adopted.

MEETING AT YORK.—On Friday evening week, a meeting was held in the school-room under Salem Chapel, York, for the purpose of taking into consideration the plan proposed by Government for extending education. The chair was taken by the pastor, Mr. James Parsons, who opened the proceedings in a long

address, in which he contended that it is not the province of the Government to control or interfere with the education of the people; and that the proposed measure is calculated to produce very lamentable effects upon the schools founded by Dissenters, and upon all the interests which, in connexion with their sanctuaries, they desire to promote and to establish. George Leeman, Esq., next addressed the meeting, and pointed out what he conceived would be the ultimate character and tendency of the Government measure. He also adduced several illustrations of the efficacy of the voluntary principle for all the purposes of education. The meeting was also addressed by Mr. Watkinson, Mr. Thorn, Mr. Shillito, Mr. James Allen, and Mr. Richard Abbay, and resolutions were passed condemnatory of the Government measure. A petition to Parliament was also agreed upon.

GOVERNMENT EDUCATIONAL MEASURE.—A public meeting will be held in the New-hall, Leicester, tomorrow evening, for the adoption of measures to defeat the unconstitutional and invidious attempt of her Majesty's Ministers to bring the education of the people under Government control.

BRISTOL.—At a meeting at Castle-green Chapel, Bristol, on Wednesday evening, Mr. Gregory, the minister, delivered an address explanatory of the Government scheme. "We understand," says the *Bristol Mercury*, "that a preliminary meeting will be held on Monday, in order to make arrangements for a general meeting in reference to the proposed educational measures of the Government."

WEST-RIDING MOVEMENT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE OF EDUCATION.—We are happy in being able to report that the agitation against the insidious and dangerous measure of Government gains in strength and activity every successive day. During the week, meetings have been held in this town, and in Huddersfield, Bradford, and Wakefield, at which resolutions, strongly condemning the measure, have been passed, and petitions founded on the same, agreed to. Meetings are arranged next week for Halifax, Rawden, Mirfield, Farsley, and Bradford (a third meeting); an active and well-organized committee having also been formed in Sheffield, Rotherham, Otley, Settle, and other towns, which will take under their charge the surrounding townships in their respective localities, there is the prospect of a strong resistance being manifested by this part of the country, before the proposed grant of money can reach the House of Commons.—*Leeds Mercury*.

NOTTINGHAM.—The *Nottingham Review* of Friday states, that "a preparatory meeting of gentlemen, opposed to the Government scheme of education, would be held in that town last evening (Friday), in order to devise a plan to bring the matter properly before the town, that the omnipotence of public opinion may be brought to bear upon the scheme, which we view as only an underhand proposal to enrich and aggrandize the richest church establishment in the world, at the expense of the toil and sweat of the suffering millions who pay the bulk of the taxes."

CORPORATION OF HULL.—A series of resolutions, condemnatory of the Government measure of Education, were moved at the meeting of the town council of Hull, on Thursday last, by Mr. Councillor Sisseson. The meeting had, however, extended to so great a length as to render the council unable at that time to consider them fully; and, in consequence, an adjournment took place until Monday, when Mr. Sisseson was to re-introduce his resolutions.

SHEFFIELD.—At a meeting held on Tuesday evening (says the *Sheffield Independent*), in Nether Chapel school-room—the Rev. W. B. Landells in the chair—a committee was appointed to co-operate with the Central Committee in Leeds in their opposition to the Government plan of education, set forth in the minutes of the Committee of Council. A deputation was appointed to confer with members of other religious bodies on the same subject, and the various Dissenting ministers were respectfully requested to convene their congregations at the earliest convenient opportunity, to explain to them the Government measure, and elicit their sentiments thereupon. A few weeks are expected to elapse before the miscellaneous estimates, which include the vote for education, are to come before the House; and, in the meanwhile, every possible effort is needed to explain the real character of the measure.

HOWDEN, YORKSHIRE.—On Wednesday evening, the 3rd inst., a large and influential meeting was held in the Independent Chapel, Howden, Yorkshire, for the purpose of laying before the people the Government scheme of education, as contained in the Minutes of Council, and of advocating voluntary efforts in connexion with the British and Foreign School established there. Prior to the public meeting, upwards of 200 persons, members of the congregation and their friends, assembled in the adjoining school-room to have tea together, that, in this social manner, they might welcome amongst them their newly-chosen pastor, Mr. Henry Roebuck. At the adjourned meeting, the chair was taken by the minister, who, in opening the business of the evening, made some pertinent remarks on the value of education, on the necessity of full freedom in mental training, and on the paralyzing influence the Government measure must certainly have on the popular mind, if carried out. Effective speeches were, also, made by Mr. J. Horrocks, Dissenting minister, Robert Ostler, Esq., and Mr. J. B. Lister, of Rotherham College. The last gentleman exposed the blighting influence the Lansdowne scheme, if introduced, would have upon the Dissenting community, and maintained that Government was guilty of a strange *anachronism*, in offering that to the people now, which, to so large an extent, they possessed. He showed that the people of this country were greater, in every respect, than the people of any other country, and attributed this greatness mainly to their *self-reliant* disposition, which the framers of this measure were seeking to destroy. The assembly broke up fully resolved to oppose, by every means constitutional, so unconstitutional a scheme. Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, deprecatory of any Government interference, are in course of signature.

KENDAL.—A private meeting, called by circular, was

held in Zion Chapel (Congregational), on Friday last, consisting of the ministers of all the Dissenting congregations, and many influential laymen, when an association was formed, to be called "The Kendal Religious Freedom Association." A strong impression is felt here that the repeated attacks made by the leaders and adherents of the State-church party, against the liberties and very existence of Dissenters, render it necessary for them permanently to unite, in order to oppose these extraordinary attempts to bolster up a dominant hierarchy. If the feeling throughout the country be as strong as it is here against this Privy Council despotism, any Government would be worse than infatuated to attempt to foist it upon the nation.

TREDEGAR.—THE GOVERNMENT PLAN OF EDUCATION.—A meeting was held at two o'clock in the afternoon last Monday, at Sharon chapel, in this town, to consider the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. The meeting was well attended, and was composed entirely of the working classes, with the exception of the two ministers who addressed the meeting. Mr. Evan Jones gave a sketch of the state of education in England and Wales, and following the facts and figures of Mr. Baines, endeavoured to show that Government interference is quite unnecessary. He then furnished some account of the Continental systems, and afterwards went over the Minutes one by one, arguing that they contain principles of the most dangerous tendency, and which, if carried out, cannot fail ultimately to lead to censorship of the press and the pulpit. The present measure he regarded as a most subtle and insidious scheme to overthrow Dissent. Religion must be taught in all the schools that will connect themselves with the Government, and if Dissenters receive Government grants in aid of religious teaching, they commit suicide by betraying their cardinal and distinctive principles. In case their attachment to principle will lead them to refuse the bribe, they have before them the comfortable prospect of being swallowed up by the Church Leviathan, so that in either case the annihilation of the Dissent that repudiates State-Churchism is intended. Mr. Jones concluded by calling on the meeting to value the principles for which our fathers bled and died, and to resist the present scheme with the same zeal and energy as were displayed against Sir James Graham's bill. Mr. Stephens, of Sirhowy, then addressed the meeting. This plan he thought very much like an offer which a moderate drinker had made to a teetotaller of his acquaintance. The moderate drinker pressed his friend very hard to let him treat him with a pint of beer, but was told that he took good care not to make him the offer when he would have been glad to receive it. So with Government, if its interference is at all wanted it ought to have been proffered long ago. It was now too late, as the people had almost made all necessary arrangements for their own education, and he hoped the people would have the good sense to tell the Government, in this instance, "We are much obliged for your good-will, but we have already helped ourselves." After this, Mr. William Jones moved, and Mr. John Phillips seconded, a resolution to the effect that the proposed interference of Government with the people's education is both unnecessary and mischievous, and ought to be resisted. Arrangements were then made for holding another meeting on the subject at Sirhowy, on next Wednesday. As an appropriate *finale* to the proceedings, a committee was formed to promote the separation of Church and State, and to co-operate with the British Anti-state-church Association. In all probability, this is the only right way to deal with the question.

DREADFUL COLLIERY ACCIDENT.—LOSS OF UPWARDS OF SEVENTY LIVES.

BARNESLEY, MARCH 6, FIVE P.M.—We regret to record a fearful coal-pit accident, attended with the loss of nearly eighty lives, which took place yesterday afternoon, at the Great Ardsley Main, or Oaks Colliery, near Barnsley. About three o'clock, several persons near the mouth of the pit were alarmed by a terrific explosion from the shaft, which was followed by an eruption of smoke, timber, coal, stone, &c., resembling the eruption of a volcano. The parties who were in the immediate neighbourhood of this place have perished. None remain to give an account of the origin of the accident, which is believed to have been at this spot. The explosion was of so violent a character that it blew up the landing at the mouth of the pit, and shot up stones, &c., to the height of thirty or forty yards.

Immediately after the explosion, Mr. George Wilson, one of the managing proprietors, with several men, went down into the pit, to ascertain the state of the case, and to render the sufferers such aid as might be within human reach. In descending the pit, they heard groans and cries of distress from the sufferers in all directions; and on reaching the bottom, some of the men who had gathered round the shaft assailed them with exclamations of gratitude. Several of the men still living were found to be severely wounded by the concussions they had sustained during the explosion. Others were in a state of insensibility. Twenty-three were drawn out of the pit alive in a short period, and about an hour afterwards three others. The melancholy search was continued, and before twelve at night forty-one others were taken out dead. The pit is the property of Messrs. Frith, Barber, and Co., and has been worked four or five years. It is 282 yards deep.

Between thirty and forty of the dead bodies yet remain in the pit. About the pit mouth and all the roads leading to the pit were to be seen the mourning and anxious relations of the deceased or injured miners, whose lamentations were most melancholy. The inquest is expected to take place on Monday, before Mr. Lee, coroner of the district.

THE WESLEYANS AND DISTRESS IN IRELAND.—The *Watchman*, of Wednesday, publishes a list of contributions received on account of the destitute poor in Ireland and Scotland, amounting to £12,500.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FAMINE IN IRELAND.—THE BAPTIST IRISH SOCIETY.

To the Editor of the *Nonconformist*.

SIR,—The large sum which I have the pleasure to advertise in your columns, and which has greatly increased since I last addressed you, has enabled the Committee to aid their friends in Ireland, in the work of distribution, to a far greater extent than they ever hoped. It is due, therefore, to those who have contributed so largely, to furnish some information respecting the plans adopted for affording relief in this fearful state of want, disease, and death.

Nearly all the agents request food to be sent rather than money; and the money is required only in those districts to which it would be difficult to send food, and where it is more convenient to buy at the stores in the immediate neighbourhood. They say that this tends to keep down the price, and this is a benefit, be the reduction ever so little. Accordingly, more food has been purchased, consisting of peas, Indian corn, Scotch barley, and dispatched this week; and only yesterday an order was given for five tons of rice.

As a specimen of the course pursued in Ireland by those connected with our Society, I may mention what is doing in Cork. There a committee has been formed of eight gentlemen, and united with the Ladies' Dorcas Society, two of whom visit daily, and no indiscriminate relief is given. Every case is visited first. They have obtained a store, rent free, from a Roman Catholic. Father Mathew has given them one of the boilers which the Government placed at his disposal, which has been fitted up free of expense. He has further shown his confidence in the liberality and judgment which our friends have displayed, by making them a grant of £10 from funds placed at his disposal. Everything like sectarianism is banished from "the Pine-street Relief Depôt," which contrasts strongly with the conduct of many Protestants and clergymen in Cork. Some of the citizens, and some of the members of the Church in Marlborough-street, have engaged to give, per month, sums varying from £1, until next July or August. One friend, who has lost £600 by the failure of the potatoes on his farm, and whose landlord, an absentee, refused any assistance, opened a soup-kitchen for the poor, and supplied, at his own expense, from forty to fifty daily. Not to help such a brother in his efforts to feed the hungry, would have been unfeeling and unjust. They intended to make the establishments a model of neatness, system, and cleanliness, and to give the most nutritious food, as soup has been found, when constantly used, to occasion dysentery. For an expenditure of £10 per week, they hope to give four hundred persons one meal a day.

Some such plans as these are adopted in all the districts where our agents are placed. It will be seen, therefore, that the utmost care is taken to apply relief in the form most effectual and least liable to abuse.

I need adduce no additional facts to show the necessity of continued liberality. The Christian public wants no stimulus. All that is necessary seems to be to take every precaution that the money shall not be squandered, but solely employed to save the starving from death. I hope this brief statement will convince our friends, if indeed that be necessary, that the Relief Committee, and those in Ireland, to whom the task of distributing their bounty has been entrusted, are fully sensible of the confidence which has been reposed in them, and are scrupulously anxious that it be not abused. I am, Sir, yours truly,

FREDERICK TRESTRAIL, Secretary.
Mission-house, March 6, 1847.

LAW OF ENTAIL.—A public meeting of proprietors of entailed estates in Scotland was held on Thursday, in the Waterloo-rooms, Edinburgh, called by a committee appointed at a meeting held in the British Hotel, in May last, with a view to consider and pass resolutions as to an application to the Legislature for such modification of the Scotch law of entail as may be deemed necessary for the interests of the community. The Lord Provost was called to the chair, and a series of resolutions passed to provide a remedy for the evils inflicted by the law of entail, and for raising subscriptions to carry on a movement, and appointing a committee.

SABBATH TRAINS ON THE EDINBURGH RAILWAY.—On Friday, this much-agitated question was discussed at the half-yearly meeting of the shareholders of the railway. The discussion in the meeting was as keen as it had previously been out of doors. When we went to press, the votes were not scrutinized, and it was doubtful whether the stopping or running party would have the majority of shares. The general opinion is, that there will be but a small majority on either side.—*Manchester Examiner*.

COLONIAL POSTAGE.—It is with sincere pleasure that we are enabled to announce the speedy completion of an arrangement relating to the Colonial mails, calculated greatly to facilitate the correspondence of parties having connexion with the colonies. Postage-stamps are in preparation (and almost ready to be issued) by which prepayment may be effected on letters to any places out of England which are covered by the shilling postage. These will, of course, be available for all our colonies without exception, for the territories of the East India Company, and our Mediterranean dependencies. This is a boon that will be thankfully received by all who have occasion to transmit letters frequently to those places.—*Daily News*.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—consists of 656 members, the two vacant seats for Sudbury being still in abeyance, making the total number 658. Of these there 44 members between the ages of 21 and 30, 159 between 31 and 40, 213 between 41 and 50, 155 between 51 and 60, 67 between 60 and 70, and 15 above 70. The oldest member in the House is Mr. Denison, the member for West Surrey, aged 77—the youngest the Earl of Grosvenor, member for Chester, aged 22. The average age of the entire house is 50 years.—*Jersey Times*.

THE CABINET.—It is confidently stated that there is a division in the Cabinet on the Irish Poor-law Bill, and that it is of such a nature as to render the speedy dissolution of the Government extremely probable. The supporters and opponents of the bill are named; but it is unnecessary to publish the list, or to repeat the conjectures which are hazarded as to the construction of a new Ministry.—*Britannia*.

GLEANINGS.

A MORSEL OF HUMANITY.—There was born, at 69 Wallace-street, Wallacetown, on Thursday week, a beautiful female child, 13 ounces weight, and 7 inches round the chest. Length of foot, 1½ inch.—*Ayr Advertiser*.

POOR RICH MEN.—A shrewd old gentleman once said to his daughter, "Be sure, my dear, you never marry a poor man; but, remember! the poorest man in the world is one that has money and nothing else."

Out of the 3,000 barristers named in the law list, it is said that not more than 200 are sufficiently employed to earn a respectable maintenance.

La Démocratie Pacifique contains an account of an ourang-outang on board the Hull, bound from Sumatra to Rotterdam. The animal had attained so high a degree of civilization that he would never sleep without his nightcap!

There has been a fall of a portion of Shakspeare's cliff, Dover; the mass which fell has been computed to weigh 48,000 tons.

A correspondent of the *Liverpool Courier* improves greatly on Mr. M'Neile's suggestion of a general fast. "Let the rich fast one day," he says—"calculate their saving in wines and other luxuries—give the sum to the poor—and mark the result."

Under the head of "Literary Gossip" it is stated, in the *Liverpool Albion* that a daily paper, to be called the *New Times*, is to be started by Mr. W. F. Delane (for many years connected with the *Times*) and Ald. Magnay.

The largest bell ever made in this country was successfully cast by Messrs. Mears, of Whitechapel, on Saturday last. Twenty-five tons of metal were fused for the operation. The monster is intended for Montreal.

Mr. Mickle, of Camden, New Jersey, in the United States, is applying gun-cotton to the propulsion of machinery in his factory. The engine is constructed on the plan of the ordinary steam-engine, only there are two cylinders, one working in the other. The gun-cotton is ignited by electricity, engendered and applied in a novel manner.

There are now several spots visible on the sun. Those on the western side are about 40,000 miles in diameter.

PLEASANT HISTORICAL MORCEAU.—Dr. Parry was hanged for the attempted murder of Queen Elizabeth; and when he was apprehended his absolution for the intended assassination, from Pope Gregory XIII., was found in his pocket.

MADAME HAHNEMANN, widow of the founder of homeopathy, has been condemned by the Correctional Tribunal, at Paris, to pay a fine of 100 francs and costs, for illegally practising medicine. She pleaded in defence, that she had received a diploma as doctor of medicine in Pennsylvania!

HOMINY has been introduced into Lincoln as an article of diet, and is said to be a very good substitute for the potato. "It is," says the *Stamford Mercury*, "much better when mixed with potatoes. The cost price at Liverpool is stated to be about 2s. per cwt.; so that, in all probability, after the cost of carriage, the retail price in Lincoln will be about 4s. per stone. In order to cook it properly, it requires steeping for twelve hours in cold water, and then creeling well."

JENNY LIND.—At a university town in Germany, lately, when Jenny Lind, the Swedish vocalist, had taken her departure, a pack of rampant students rushed into her inn—scampered into the bedroom of a bald old Englishman, believing it to be hers—and, tearing the bed-linen into shreds, ran into the streets, each wearing a scrap as a decoration! The ancient traveller, supposing himself to be a marked man, was in terror of destruction.

M. SOYER arrived in Dublin on Monday night, and on Tuesday had interviews with the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commissioners-General. He is to erect one of his soup-kitchens immediately in Dublin.

A paper has been published in "Bostun" (as it is spelt), U.S., on the phonotypic principle. It is entitled, "The Anglo-Sacson, devoted to the difyzun ov nolej and nuz." The paper is able and interesting.

BIRTH.

March 2, the wife of Mr. HENRY HOOPER, Western-road, Brighton, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

March 1, at the Independent Chapel, Ross, by Mr. W. M. Byrne, minister, Mr. JOHN MORRIS, of Hereford, to Miss E. WARD, of Lidbrook, Gloucestershire.

Lately, at Ebenezer Chapel, Penrith, by Mr. William Brewis, minister, Mr. GEORGE WISHART, tea-dealer, to Miss SARAH THOMPSON, both of Penrith.

Feb. 22, by Mr. Richard Jessop, in the Independent Chapel, Rothwell, Northamptonshire, Mr. WILLIAM BASSETT to Miss ELIZABETH SIBBUTT.

Feb. 25, at Rock Chapel, Trelech, by Mr. D. Hughes, minister, Mr. T. PHILIPS, Gilvach-y-Geinstin, Conwil, to Miss MARY LEWIS, Vronlas Trelech.

March 3, at the Independent Chapel, Newark, by the pastor, Mr. H. L. Adams, Mr. J. TAYLOR, of Parliament-street, to Miss BEARDALL of Mill-gate, both of this town.

March 4, at St. Andrew's Chapel, North Shields, by Mr. A. Jack, minister, T. S. BROOKES, Esq., of Dewsbury, to Miss ELIZABETH GREENHOW, youngest daughter of the late E. M. Greenhow, Esq., M.D., of Dockray-square, North Shields.

March 6, at the Independent Chapel, Newark, by Mr. H. L. Adams, Mr. JOSEPH HOBSON HILL, of Sheffield, to Miss HARMIST MUMBY, second daughter of Mr. Mumby, of Barnley-gate, in this town.

DEATHS.

Feb. 18, at Plymouth, in the hope of the gospel, RICHARD DERRY, Esq., aged 87.

Feb. 21, suddenly, at his residence, Hereford, deeply regretted, Mr. JOHN WILLIAMS, officer of excise, aged 42, son-in-law of Mr. John James, Baptist minister, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Feb. 22, Mr. ARTHUR ROBERTS, of Botolph-lane, City, in his 87th year. He had been for some years the father of the Weigh-house church.

Feb. 22, at Taunton, after a long illness, DANIEL PARGITTER, Esq., in the 76th year of his age. He was for many years an eminent surgeon at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

Feb. 27, at his residence, 1, Gloucester-place, Camden-town, in the 70th year of his age, Mr. ROBERT PEAKE, of Lisle and Princes-street, Leicester-square.

Feb. 27, in her 71st year, in the faith and hope of the gospel, JANE, the beloved wife of Mr. W. BATE, one of the deacons of Ebenezer Chapel, Chatham.

Feb. 28, aged two years and four months, MARY CHRISTIANA LYNDON, only surviving daughter of Richard Henry Rolls, Esq., solicitor, Calthorpe-terrace, Banbury, Oxon.

March 1, at Dublin, Mr. WILLIAM HAWES COOPER, Independent minister, after a protracted and complicated affliction.

March 1, aged 29, ANN MAGRETHA, the beloved wife of Mr. W. JACKSON, jun., of New Church-road, Camberwell, and Threadneedle-street, City.

March 4, SAMUEL MILLS, Esq., of No. 20, Russell-square, in the 78th year of his age.

March 6, after more than twenty years' heavy affliction, SARAH, the wife of Mr. John LEE, of Brixton-ridge, Surrey.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Tuesday, March 9th.

The following buildings are certified as a place duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

General Baptist Chapel, Loughborough.

Wesleyan Chapel, Great Bentley, Essex.

BANKRUPTS.

BULL, WILLIAM, 3, Little Love-lane, Wood-street, stock manufacturer, March 18, April 22: solicitors, Messrs. Ashurst and Son Cheapside.

BURNS, PETER, jun., Liverpool, bookseller, March 19, April 20: solicitors, Messrs. Sharpe and Co., Bedford-row, London; Mr. Clemenson, Ambleside; and Messrs. Herington, Woods, and Woodburn, Liverpool.

CURITT, SAMUEL, Colchester, clothier, March 15, April 19: solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Leadenhall-street.

FURBY, JOHN, and STOCKTON, ROBERT, 35, Sackville-street, Piccadilly, tailors, March 17, April 22: solicitor, Mr. Davies, Warwick-street, Golden-square.

HALLILEY, ANTHONY, and HALLILEY, RICHARD, Wigton, calico printers, March 18, April 20: solicitors, Mr. Joseph Studholme, Wigton; Messrs. Addison and Harrison, Staple-inn, London; and Mr. H. Ingledew, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

HODDING, WILLIAM HENRY, Gloucester-place, Portman-square, surgeon, March 16, April 20: solicitors, Messrs. Sutton and Co., 6, Basinghall-street.

HUNTER, ROBERT ELLIOTT, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, wine merchant, March 23, April 20: solicitors, Messrs. T. and W. Chater, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and Messrs. Bell, Brodrick, and Bell, Bow Church-yard, London.

LAW, JAMES, Faversham, coal merchant, March 17, April 22: solicitors, Messrs. Gilbert and Co., Philpot-lane.

MORGAN, JAMES, Wedmore, draper, March 23, April 20: solicitor, Mr. Bailey, Wedmore.

PRUST, JOSEPH, Stratton, Cornwall, tanner, March 23, April 15: solicitors, Mr. J. Stogdon, Exeter; and Messrs. Keddell and Co., Lime-street, London.

STOCKMAN, THOMAS, and STOCKDALE, JOHN, Liverpool, soap boilers, March 23, April 16: solicitors, Messrs. Sharpe and Co., Bedford-row, London; and Messrs. Harvey and Falcon, Liverpool.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HOWARTH, SAMUEL, and Co., Glasgow, postmasters, March 15, April 5.

M'CABE, PETER, Glasgow, spirit dealer, March 15, April 12.

MUNRO, HECTOR, Bridge of Earn, saddler, March 15, April 12.

REID, ROBERT, Glasgow, dyer, March 13, April 5.

WALKER, JOHN, and Co., Aberdeen, fancy warehousemen, March 15, April 12.

WISHART, M., and Co., Glasgow, sewed muslin manufacturers, March 13, April 3.

DIVIDENDS.

William Looney, late of Whitehaven, cooper, third and final div. of 3d.; at 57, Grey-street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, any Saturday after March 12—James Ramsden, and James Ramsden, jun., of Arnley, cloth manufacturers, first div. of 9d.; also a first and final div. of 1s. on the separate estate of James Ramsden, sen.; at 4, Commercial-buildings, Leeds, on any Friday—Edwin Lilley, of Kingston-upon-Hull, timber merchant, first div. of 8s.; at the Town-hall, Hull, any Wednesday—William Baldock, of Nottingham, grocer, first div. of 6s. 3d.; at 7, Waterloo-street, Birmingham, any Thursday—Tring, Reading, and Basingstoke Railway Company, now or late of 26, New Broad-street, City, first div. of 20s., and 4 per cent. interest in the pound; at 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday

—Robert Arthur Fitzhardinge Kingscote, Sandgate, lately of Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, first div. of 20s.; at 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—Joseph Wilcox, 28, Little Bell-alley, Moorgate-street, tailor, first div. of 2s.; at 25, Coleman-street, any Wednesday—William Van, Old-street, St. Luke's, upholsterer, div. of 7d.; at 9, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street, on March 11, and three following Thursdays—William Smith, Curtain-road, timber merchant, div. of 1d.; at 9, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street, on March 11, and three following Thursdays—Jonathan Wragg, Melina-place, Westminster-bridge-road, iron merchant, dividend of 6s. 8d. in the pound, payable at 9, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street, on March 11, and three following Thursdays—Thomas Wilson, Charles Kirkman Wilson, and William Wilson, Liverpool, linen drapers, div. of 7d.; also div. of 6s. 6d. on the separate estates of C. K. Wilson and Brother; at 19, South Castle-street, Liverpool, on March 25, or any subsequent Thursday—Robert Hamilton and William Graham, Liverpool, merchants, second div. of 6d.; at 19, South Castle-street, Liverpool, on March 18, or any subsequent Thursday—James Colquhoun Kemp, Liverpool, merchant, div. of 1s. 3d., on account of the first div. of 3s. 6d.; at 19, South Castle-street, Liverpool, on any Thursday—George Charles Crofts, Liverpool, corn merchant, first div. of 1s. 3d.; at 19, South Castle-street, Liverpool, on any Thursday—Henry Williams, Llanrwst, apothecary, div. of 3d.; at 19, South Castle-street, Liverpool, on any Thursday.

Friday, March 5.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

The Independent Chapel, Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire.

The Presbyterian Church, Stafford.

BANKRUPTS.

BAISLER, FRANCIS, Oxford-street, stationer, March 15, April 20: solicitor, Mr. Waller, jun., Finsbury-circus.

BAYLIS, THOMAS CLARK, Gloucester-place, Old Kent-road, grocer, March 19, April 16: solicitor, Mr. Taylor, Fenchurch-street.

BROWN, JOHN, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's Inn-fields, carver and gilder, March 13, April 24: solicitor, Mr. G. J. Shaw, Furnival's Inn.

FIELDER, JOHN WEBB, Thavies Inn, Holborn, lace-merchant, March 10, April 16: solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street.

FORBES, JOSHUA, Liverpool, watch maker, March 19, April 16: solicitors, Messrs. Holme and Co., New Inn, London; and Mr. Booker, Liverpool.

GIBSON, WILLIAM, Birmingham, broker, March 22, April 8: solicitors, Mr. Cheshire, Birmingham; and Messrs. Clarke and Co., Lincoln's Inn-fields, London.

HANTING, JOHN, Kingston-upon-Hull, draper, March 17, April 7: solicitors, Messrs. Dean and Co., St. Swithin's-lane, London; and Messrs. England and Shackells, Hull.

HUBBARD, CHARLES JOHN, Crutched Friars, hop merchant, March 12, April 22: solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence and Plevs, Old Jewry-chambers.

JAMES, THOMAS JONES, Chatford, Shropshire, corn dealer, March 13, April 10: solicitors, Messrs. Mottram and Knowles, Birmingham.

JYNES, THOMAS, Longdon, Worcestershire, butcher, March 18, April 7: solicitors, Mr. Cooper, Upton-upon-Severn; and Messrs. Mottram and Knowles, Birmingham.

PALFREY, WILLIAM, sen., Tyssen-place, Kingsland-road, builder, March 16, April 13: solicitor, Mr. Teague, Crown-court, Cheapside.

PIERCE, JOHN, Liverpool, builder, March 19, April 16: solicitors, Mr. Oliver, Old Jewry, London; and Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool.

RICHARDSON, MARTIN, Harrogate, attorney at law, March 24, April 27: solicitors, Messrs. Jones and Co., John-street, London; and Messrs. Harle and Clarke, Leeds.

SMITH, JOSEPH HILL, Merthyr Tydfil, grocer, March 19, April 16: solicitors, Messrs. Abbott and Co., New Inn, London; and Mr. E. G. Smith, Merthyr Tydfil.

SOFTLOW, JOSEPH, Adelaide-place, London-bride, wine merchant, March 19, April 24: solicitor, Mr. Wellborne, Tooley-street.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

James Aspinwall, Manchester, salesman, first div. of 6s. 2d.; at 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—John Bowker Dunkerley, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, draper, first div. of 1s. 11d.; at 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—James Stout, Liverpool, bootmaker, first div. of 4s.; at Edion-chambers, St. John-street, Liverpool, any Thursday—Charles Beck, Kilanfawr, Glamorgan-shire, farmer, first div. of 2s. 10d.; at 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol, any Wednesday—John Alexander Lee and Co., Liverpool, iron founders, first div. of 3s. 2d.; at 12, Cook-street, Liverpool, any Wednesday.

DIVIDENDS.

James Aspinwall, Manchester, salesman, first div. of 6s. 2d.; at 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—John Bowker Dunkerley, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, draper, first div. of 1s. 11d.; at 72, George-street, Manchester, any Tuesday—James Stout, Liverpool, bootmaker, first div. of 4s.; at Edion-chambers, St. John-street, Liverpool, any Thursday—Charles Beck, Kilanfawr, Glamorgan-shire, farmer, first div. of 2s. 10d.; at 19, St. Augustine's-place, Bristol, any Wednesday—John Alexander Lee and Co., Liverpool, iron founders, first div. of 3s. 2d.; at 12, Cook-street, Liverpool, any Wednesday.

BRITISH FUNDS.

| | Wed. | Thur. | Fri. | Sat. | Sun. | Tues. |
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ADVERTISEMENTS.

MR. PHILLIPPO'S APPEAL TO HIS ENGLISH FRIENDS.

Spanish Town, 11th January, 1847.

To the Editor of the Morning Journal.

SIR.—I do not willingly send my name to your office; but the following advertisement from an English paper, the *Nonconformist*, must not pass without notice. I should be wanting in my duty to the cause of honour, of truth, and religion, if, possessing as I do, the information necessary to expose it, I were to shrink from that duty.

CASE OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH IN SPANISH TOWN, JAMAICA,

and of its esteemed Pastor, the Rev. James M. Phillipo.

"Since the publication of this case, the following donations have been sent to the Treasurer, and are hereby very thankfully acknowledged. Further contributions, to a large extent, are most earnestly entreated in aid of this faithfully devoted Missionary, whose heavy personal liabilities, incurred in defending the Mission property and Church at Spanish Town, require the prompt and effectual assistance of every one who desires to protect, or indeed to preserve, the existence of religious liberty in Jamaica, which assuredly is involved in the issue of these proceedings. Mr. Phillipo, as will be seen by a perusal of his case, stands alone in this fearful and disgraceful contest; he has not any other resource than such as may be drawn forth by this public appeal. He is, to use his own words, in the last letter to his Committee, dated Jamaica, Sept. 20, 1846, 'contending for the defence of the Gospel and of the whole Mission in this colony, against unjust and wicked men.' He says, 'I know that my conduct has been extensively misrepresented, and thereby has, I fear, been very much mistaken. My resistance, so far as the law is concerned, has been entirely passive; the contest is not, and never has been in reality, a contest of one part of the Church against another. The actors in this attack are six or eight self-constituted Trustees, endeavouring to render legally available a deed of their own creating, thereby to possess themselves of the Mission property. It is impossible for me to recede. I must abide the issue. I have not any fear of defeat in the cause of truth and righteousness; but the costs created by these men, *for which, personally and solely, I am liable, are enormous*. I am utterly unable to meet them; yet, under a consciousness of my integrity in the path of duty, I am sustained in the prospect, and prepared to meet the expected prison.' It is believed that this statement needs not any comment."

The chapel in question was settled, so far back as the year 1823, to the use, not of the Baptist Missionary Society, but of all individuals, without limitation, professing the tenets of the Baptist denomination. The trustees have, by the deed, no active powers to appoint ministers, or otherwise to interfere in the Church arrangements. When, therefore, a minister was to be elected, the members of the Church accustomed to meet in the building became, according to their form of government (the independent), the electors.

Mr. Phillipo and Mr. Dowson were acting co-pastors of the Church, and also of three other Churches, viz.: Passage Fort, Sligo Ville, and St. John's. Neither, however, had been regularly elected, and solemnly set apart to the office, according to the custom and law of their Churches.

The surviving trustees of the deed, resident in England, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Hanson, and Mr. Hoby, having sent a power of attorney to Mr. Phillipo and the Rev. Mr. Abbott, these gentlemen, in conjunction with Mr. Hall, one of the two surviving trustees resident in Jamaica, filed a bill to enjoin Thomas Harry, the other surviving Jamaica trustee, and others he had named by deed, to fill up the vacancies in the trust, from proceeding, by ejectment, to obtain possession of the chapel, and from electing a minister in the room of Mr. Phillipo, with whom they were, for certain good reasons, greatly dissatisfied. Mr. Dowson was made a party defendant to this bill, as they sought to enjoin him from preaching in the pulpit.

A motion in the cause, supported by affidavits, was accordingly made; on hearing which, the Vice-Chancellor stayed the action of ejectment (which involved the question of the validity of the respective deeds of nomination by the surviving island trustees of new trustees); but stating his opinion to be, that Mr. Phillipo and Mr. Dowson were co-pastors of the chapel, his Honour refused to enjoin the defendants from intermeddling with the chapel, or from interfering in the election of a minister. He also intimated his opinion to be, that the right to the pulpit of the chapel could only be in a pastor of the people's choice, and that the substantial question at issue, namely, who was to be minister, was in the hands of the people themselves. The suit, therefore, ought to have been stopped there, the main question having been decided, although only incidentally, by the dictum of the judge.

But the complainants contended further, that inasmuch as the building was erected by the money of the Baptist Missionary Society, the right to elect was in that committee, according to the usage (as in their bill is stated) of the society, though contrary to the first principles of congregational government.

Were the fact true, which it is not, that the society had any such rule, the position would, for the reason just stated, be obviously an untenable one. And how stands the case on the other points? Numerous affidavits filed in the suit, which have never yet been answered, show with the highest probability that money was contributed by the people avowedly for the object of building the chapel and other buildings, of greater amount than the alleged cost of it. The Vice-Chancellor, therefore, in his judgment on this point, states his view thus:—Allowing, therefore, that the money may originally have been advanced by the central committee, I think there can be little doubt, supposing these affidavits are correct, that the congregation have amongst themselves raised sufficient funds to repay such advances. All parties admit, that since 1828, the minister has been supported by the voluntary contributions of the congregation. If, therefore, the central committee rested their claim to the nomination of the minister solely on the fact of having supported him, or having erected the buildings with their money, I am of opinion that ground would fail them."

Shortly afterwards, in order to get rid of their inconvenient position, public notice was given by the office-bearers of the large section of members attached to Mr. Dowson (who had been driven to erect a temporary booth for worship, when excluded from the chapel), that a meeting will be held for election of a pastor for the church. Every possible publicity was given to the notice, and on the day of election about 1,300 members' votes were recorded for Mr. Dowson, which embraced a very large majority of those who habitually attended worship, and partook of the sacrament in the chapel. Not a vote was recorded for Mr. Phillipo. An individual only offered on his behalf, and tendered a protest. Many members who were absent on the day of election have added their names to the list of Mr. Dowson's adherents.

Everything of the least interest to friends in England must evidently depend on the validity of that election. Mr. Phillipo never was the elected minister or pastor of the church in Spanish Town. He was only superintendent of that and three other churches which he had raised: but the time had arrived when, by his claiming to continue in his own person so many pastorships, the members resolved to exercise their right. As they found he could not feed so many as three other flocks besides themselves, and they were otherwise dissatisfied, they objected to his continuance as their pastor. The church at Spanish Town alone would fully occupy the time of two diligent pastors. They had suffered from neglect. It was surely disgraceful in him to contend for the monopoly of a religious charge of which he could not adequately perform one-fourth of the duties. That the election was valid, and ought to be held so, admits, in my opinion, of no reasonable doubt. It is the first and only regular election of a pastor to the Spanish Town Church.

In these circumstances, how dare Mr. Phillipo write to his friends in England (excellent confiding Christian men, as I know them to be), and say that he is "contending for the defence of the Gospel, and of the whole Mission in this colony," or that "he stands alone in this fearful and disgraceful contest," or that "the actors in this attack are six or eight self-constituted trustees, endeavouring to render legally available a deed of their own creating, thereby to possess themselves of the Mission property." Or how does the advertiser make out that the preservation of religious liberty is involved in the case which is set up by the active parties in these proceedings?

But this is not the worst of the case. Mr. Phillipo in his letter writes, "The costs created by these men, for which personally and solely I am liable, are enormous." "I am utterly unable to meet them—yet under a consciousness of my own integrity in the path of my duty, I am sustained in the prospect, and prepared to meet the expected prison."

By what perversity of his imagination could Mr. Phillipo in

this suit, instituted by himself in the name of his friends, see glimmering for him "the expected prison," I cannot conceive. He is fighting the whole battle in the name of wealthy Englishmen and others, at their sole immediate cost and ultimate risk. Can any thing relieve Mr. Phillipo, in this case, of a charge of wilful falsehood? Nothing can.

Mr. Phillipo cannot excuse himself for this statement. Mr. Phillipo has, therefore, by his letter, placed himself in a degrading position, and inflicted a deep wound on the sacred cause to which he has so often vowed devotion. I may further inquire, whether Mr. Phillipo's dread of the "expected prison" indicates confidence in the litigation ending successfully?

But the readers of this may wish to know what is Mr. Phillipo's position in the suit? He is only one of several defendants—his position is comparatively subordinate, and need not be costly, especially as the complainants have hitherto been made the active parties in his behalf. He is exposed to little or no risk. Certainly he is not in a situation to appeal, on the grounds he has stated, to the generous sympathies of those in England who are spending their spare money in labours of piety and philanthropy. Mr. Phillipo's ostensible position is not that of a poor man. He is apparently equal to most of the professional gentlemen in our little metropolis, for he drives his carriage and pair, which many of us cannot now do. I have, therefore, wiped with pain and indignation his appeal to his committee, and have felt it to be my duty to notice it, and I trust they will make themselves better acquainted with the business before they urge "his case" on the religious public of England. Were the real merits of it understood by Mr. Phillipo's constituents, I feel assured they would not allow themselves to be further involved, nor would they continue a proceeding so destructive of object, and so oppressive to innocent parties.

I had almost omitted another important point. Mr. Phillipo contends that the members of Sligo Ville Church (eleven miles off), Passage Fort (seven miles off), and St. John's (five miles off), are all entitled to vote in the election of the Spanish Town Baptist minister, while the very object of the Spanish Town people is to see pastors for these separate churches doing diligently their duty from house to house, and to have something better than a mere nominal pastorate, which Mr. Phillipo's has hitherto been. What is mainly needed to render the Baptist mission more effective in this island, is to divide the charges, giving as far as practicable to each considerable congregation a pastor of its own. Thus and thus only can we hope for the dissemination of religious knowledge amongst the people, which will also ultimately secure to the humble and moderate-minded ministers that comfortable support to which, according to the Christian rule, congregations are bound to yield in return for his spiritual services.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

CONSERVATOR.

The Author of the above letter is Mr. W. Wemyss Anderson, the Solicitor of Mr. Dowson in the suit; and is a gentleman favourably known both in London and Edinburgh, as anyone feeling interested may soon ascertain.

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This is a preparation from the choicest Oriental Herbs, of peculiarly mild and detergent properties. It pleasantly and effectually cleanses the hair and skin of the head of scurf and every species of impurity, and imparts a delicate fragrance. It entirely supercedes the necessity for using the fine comb, so injurious to the tender skin of the head; and, from its beneficial effects on the health, together with the grateful and refreshing sensation it imparts, and being perfectly innocent in its nature, will prove an invaluable appendage to the toilet, and the purposes of the nursery.—3s. 6d. per bottle.

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The most successful liquid preparation ever known in this or any other country, for dyeing the hair of the head, whiskers, moustaches, and eyebrows a natural and permanent brown or black, so exactly resembling the natural colour of the hair as to defy detection. It is perfectly innocent in its nature, is free from unpleasant smell, and can be used by any lady or gentleman with the greatest ease and secrecy. Its effect is so permanent, that neither water nor perspiration will influence it; and it is entirely free from those properties (usual in hair dyes) which give an unnatural red or purple tint to the hair. Price 5s.

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FAMINE IN IRELAND.

BAPTIST IRISH SOCIETY.

THE COMMITTEE are desirous of again exercising their deep sense of the liberality which is still in exercise for the relief of the millions of destitute Irish. Though "the cloud continues to thicken," benevolence has not yet been exhausted. Large supplies are sent from time to time of food and clothing, the distribution of which is attended to by the missionaries, constantly and carefully, and they have reason to believe that thereby hundreds have been saved from death. The people are amazed at English generosity—are deeply grateful for it. The Committee beseech their friends to remember Ireland at a time of mercy, while they are trying to save her people from famine.

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Previously acknowledged | £2,631 4 8 |
| Received since | 1,233 10 6 |
| | £3,864 15 2 |

FRED. TRESTRAIL, Secretary.

PUBLIC MEETING.

FAMINE IN IRELAND AND SCOTLAND.

THE UNITED RELIEF ASSOCIATION hereby convene a PUBLIC MEETING on the subject of the awful calamity afflicting large portions of the United Kingdom, to be held at the LONDON TAVERNS, Bishopsgate-street, on THURSDAY next, March 11, at One o'Clock, and an Adjourned Meeting at Seven o'Clock in the Evening of the same day. The Chair will be taken at One o'Clock by

BENJAMIN BOND CABELL, M.P.

and the meeting will be addressed by gentlemen familiar with the scenes and the extent of the distress.

The necessity of prompt assistance is deeply felt by the Committee of the United Relief Association; for unless large and comprehensive measures be speedily adopted to arrest pauperization, and relieve destitution, one-third of the population of Ireland will be swept off, and the famine fever may spread into England also.

Noblemen and Gentlemen from Ireland and Scotland are respectfully requested, by their presence at the meeting, to evince their sympathy for their distressed countrymen.

Seats will be reserved for Ladies.

COMMITTEE.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| The Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, M.A. | Charles Cochrane, Esq. |
| The Hon. and Rev. G. S. Osborne. | Luke James Hansard, Esq. |
| The Rev. Dr. Leitch. | B. Bond Cabell, Esq., M.P. |
| The Rev. Owen Clarke. | Rev. Alexander Mangin, A.M. |
| The Rev. Dr. Hare. | St. George D'Arcy Irvine, Esq. |
| The Rev. Dr. Ferguson. | Rev. W. Norval, A.B. |
| The Rev. Dr. Carlile. | Rev. H. Harrison. |
| The Rev. Dr. Cox. | Rev. Somerset Townsend. |
| Rev. Robert Redpath. | Rev. F. Trestrail. |
| | Rev. R. Eckett. |

(With power to add to its number.)

TRASURER—Luke James Hansard, Esq.

Donations in money or clothing received at 40, Leicester-square.

G. H. STODDART, M.A., JAMES CARLILE, D.D., Hon. Secretaries.

Tickets may be had at the principal Libraries in the City, and at 40, Leicester-square.

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<p

IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.
CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE STARVING
POOR IN IRELAND.

THE COMMITTEE acknowledge, with great thankfulness, the liberal contributions remitted to them to mitigate the appalling distress, which still deepens and spreads in our ill-fated sister country. They have two deputations now visiting the distressed districts, one in the north and west, the other in the south. The statements transmitted by the agents of the Society, from every part of the country, are of the most affecting description. There is little hope that the calamity will abate. Months must elapse before any supplies can be derived from the soil. It is, therefore, for British Christians to persevere in the course of benevolence they have so nobly commenced, if they would save alive those who are literally "ready to perish."

THOMAS JAMES, Secretary.

Bloomsbury-street, Finsbury, March 8, 1847.

| | £ s. d. |
|--|------------|
| Amount already advertised | 5,943 17 4 |
| Mr. A. Pinnell, Mortimer, Berks | 5 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Tiler and Friends, Whitchurch, Salop | 6 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Holmes and ditto, Wisbech | 24 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Handewill and ditto, Leeds | 17 0 0 |
| Rev. Joseph Gilbert and ditto, Leeds | 25 3 0 |
| Rev. J. Haydon and ditto, High Wycombe | 2 18 4 |
| Rev. J. Pulling and ditto, Deptford | 12 0 0 |
| United Relief Association, per Rev. G. Stoddart, Secretary | 10 0 0 |
| Rev. J. H. Millard and Friends, Huntingdon, moiety | 8 0 0 |
| A Few Friends at Higham, Kent, per Rev. P. Thomson | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. Churchill and Friends, Weston-green | 2 12 6 |
| Rev. W. S. Palmer and ditto, Hare-court | 15 12 2 |
| Rev. Messrs. Jerrard and Delf and ditto, Coventry, moiety | 22 1 0 |
| Rev. B. O. Bendall and ditto, Kingswood | 6 15 0 |
| Rev. J. Blackburn, Claremont Chapel (additional, £80 previously acknowledged) | 1 3 0 |
| Rev. J. Oddie and Friends, Osse | 16 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Watts and ditto, Boston | 5 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Lindemore and ditto, Leicester, two-thirds | 25 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Moore and ditto, Truro, moiety | 20 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Sleight and ditto, Eggington & Hockliffe | 3 8 0 |
| Rev. W. C. Fisher and ditto, Hornastle, moiety | 1 10 0 |
| Rev. H. Cresswell and ditto, Canterbury (including £1 from Sunday-school children) | £38 3 0 |
| Five Sacks of Flour from a Friend, value | 12 10 0 |
| | 50 13 0 |
| J. C. | 1 1 0 |
| Albany Chapel, after Sermons by Rev. T. James, and C. F. Vardy, A. M., besides £5 to Scotland | 25 8 10 |
| Calvinistic Methodist Congregation and Sunday-school, Water-street, Carmarthen, by D. Charles, Esq., moiety | 10 17 1 |
| B. O. Birmingham, moiety | 2 10 0 |
| Rev. F. J. Falding and Friends, Wellington, Salop | 3 10 0 |
| J. R. Burchett, Esq., second donation | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. S. Martin and Friends, Westminster | 30 5 0 |
| Union Chapel Choral Society, by Rev. J. Adey (sacramental £3 3s. previously acknowledged) | 12 0 0 |
| A Friend, Mere | 5 0 0 |
| A Family in Greenwich, by Rev. W. Lucy | 3 0 0 |
| Rev. R. Fairbrother and Friends, Dereham | 15 5 0 |
| Rev. H. Quick and ditto, Taunton | 25 12 6 |
| Rev. R. H. Smith and ditto, Marlborough, including £3 5s. 4d. from Sunday-school | 18 3 8 |
| "A Friend to the Destitute Irish," by C. E. Rawlins, Esq., Liverpool | 20 0 0 |
| Rev. T. Charlton and Friends, Totteridge | 26 0 0 |
| W. Greig, Esq., City-road | 5 0 0 |
| Independent Sunday-school, Hobhouse, near Bury, Lancashire | 1 12 1 |
| ev. J. B. Brown, B.A., and Friends, Clapham-road | 60 0 0 |
| Rev. R. Elliott and ditto, Devizes | 13 6 0 |
| Rev. T. Gilbert and ditto, Wheathampstead | 2 10 0 |
| Rev. E. H. Weeks and ditto, Dewsby (besides £9 for Scotland) | 30 0 0 |
| Rev. J. S. Breeze and Friends, Queenborough | 5 5 0 |
| Rev. C. Hudson and Friends, Lowestoft | 7 10 8 |
| Rev. R. Panks and Friends, Bridgewater, Salop | 10 0 0 |
| Independent Congregation, Broseley, Salop, one-third | 2 12 6 |
| Rev. Dr. Morison and Friends, Brompton, one-third | 33 6 8 |
| Rev. W. Marshall and Friends, Wigan, per Universe, moiety | 21 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Palmer and Friends, Northallerton | 6 6 3 |
| Independent Chapel, Gornal, Rev. R. Simpson | 25 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Selbie and Friends, Great Horwood | 2 0 0 |
| Wind West Heath, Glamorganshire, Rev. B. Davies | 3 0 1 |
| Rev. D. Jones and Friends, Wickham Market | 3 14 6 |
| Rev. J. R. Jones and Friends, Kilby | 6 10 8 |
| Crick, per Rev. T. Hall | 2 5 2 |
| Rev. B. Balkwill and Friends, Bodmin | £2 14 0 |
| Sunday-school, for clothing | 1 10 0 |
| | 4 4 0 |
| Rev. T. H. Browne and Friends, Deal | 7 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Cummins, Snaith, additional | 1 0 0 |
| X. Y., Bradford, Yorkshire | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. D. T. Carnson and Friends, Preston | 35 0 0 |
| Rev. Messrs. Chapman and Lucy and Friends, Greenwich, including £5 ls. 6d. from pupils at Messrs. Knightly and Son's Academy, moiety | 18 10 0 |
| Rev. C. Howell, Sidbury, near Honiton | 1 2 0 |
| Carmarthen, per D. Charles, Esq. | 15 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Howell, Sidbury, near Honiton | 1 2 0 |
| Rev. W. J. Hope and Friends, New Cross | 5 16 0 |
| Rev. W. Foster and Friends, Bere Regis | 3 0 0 |
| Rev. E. Jones and Friends, Plymouth | 17 14 7 |
| Rev. W. Slater and Friends, Teignmouth | 17 2 8 |
| Rev. W. G. Lewis and Friends, Cheltenham, one-fourth | 25 0 0 |
| Contributions by the Calvinistic Methodists in the county of Cardigan, by G. Thomas, Esq., Aberystwyth | 61 8 2 |
| B. Dixon, Esq., by Rev. C. Dukes, A. M. | 2 2 0 |
| Rev. C. P. Hobbs and Friends, Market Lavington | 30 4 0 |
| Rev. James Lyon and Friends, Hadleigh, two-thirds | 30 0 0 |
| Rev. G. B. Kidd and Friends, Scarborough | 12 14 0 |
| Rev. S. Steer and Friends, Ca' the Hedingham, moiety | 33 11 6 |
| Mrs. Best, Witchampton | 5 0 0 |
| Collected by the Students at Cheshunt College, at— | |
| Stansted | £4 9 7 |
| Wormley | 0 8 1 |
| Botany Bay | 1 5 7 |
| Nasing | 1 4 0 |
| | 7 7 3 |
| Rev. J. Oke and Friends, St. Columb | 4 3 7 |
| Mr. J. Bradbury, Market Bosworth | 1 16 0 |

INDIGESTION, says Dr. ABERNETHY, is the parent of Melancholy, Nervousness, Languor, Debility, Bilious Affections, and most other Diseases. A valuable and never-failing Remedy for this disease, which has restored to health thousands in cases which had baffled the skill of the faculty. The prescription will be sent (by post only) on receipt of Half-a-crown, or postage stamps to that amount, addressed to the discoverer, Dr. SPURS-HEIM, 4, Upper Southampton-street, Pentonville.

THE TREASURER OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF IRELAND respectfully and gratefully acknowledges the following sums, in addition to those formerly advertised, as received on account of the Fund for the RELIEF of the DESTITUTE POOR in the Mission districts of the Union:—

| | £ s. d. |
|--|---------|
| Rev. Dr. Jones, Bangor, N. W. (collection) | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Gawthorne, Derby (ditto) | 11 8 8 |
| Rev. W. Fairbrother, Derby, (ditto) | 4 11 4 |
| Rev. J. Hill, Stafford (ditto) | 10 0 0 |
| J. A. London | 2 2 0 |
| Liscard, Cheshire, by A. Bewley, Esq. (collection) | 13 13 0 |
| Sunday-school Teachers and Friends, at Rev. J. Raven's Chapel, Dudley | 5 0 0 |
| Rev. J. P. Palmer, Rotherham (collected by) | 12 10 0 |
| Rev. J. Vine, Bushey (collection) | 3 10 0 |
| W. B. Bourne, Esq., Hackney | 1 1 0 |
| Miss Bourne, ditto | 0 10 0 |
| Messrs. Lambert, Brown, and Co., London | 5 5 0 |
| J. Cutting, Esq., London | 1 0 0 |
| Mrs. W. Fletcher, Mundenley | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Pyer, Devonport (collection) | 9 7 0 |
| Rev. J. Bounsl, Ottery, Devon (collection) | 3 15 0 |
| Carr's-lane, Birmingham, Rev. J. A. James, Relief Fund for Ireland, by T. Bielby, Esq. | 50 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Wild, Guernsey (second collection) | 6 7 8 |
| Rev. T. Weaver, Shrewsbury (part of collection) | 5 0 0 |
| William Urwick, Esq., London | 15 0 0 |
| William Deal, Esq., by ditto | 10 0 0 |
| Rev. J. Glendinning and friends, Huddersfield (third payment) | 10 0 0 |
| Miss Smith, Newport Pagnell | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. R. Aspinall | 3 17 0 |
| Rev. M. Roberts, Dwygyfili, per Rev. D. Jones | 1 8 0 |
| Mr. Jeanneret, per Rev. T. James | 1 0 0 |
| H. Thompson, Esq., Framlingham | 2 10 0 |
| Anonymous | 1 0 0 |
| Rev. G. Verral, Bromley, moiety | 2 0 0 |
| Dr. J. P. Smith, donation | 2 2 0 |
| B. O., Birmingham, moiety | 2 10 0 |
| Rev. W. Wheeler, Stroud | 6 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Chapman, Greenwich, moiety | 18 10 0 |
| Rev. T. Toller, Kettering | 18 5 3 |
| Stubb's Hoyland Church, by Mr. W. Orger | 4 12 0 |
| E. Hill, Shrewsbury | 10 17 0 |
| Rev. W. Moore, Truro | 20 0 0 |
| Rev. J. N. Goult, Brighton, moiety | 10 0 0 |
| John Lees, Esq., Manchester | 5 0 0 |
| Rev. W. Griffiths, Holyhead | 1 12 0 |
| Rev. R. Thompson, Ilfracombe, moiety | 2 0 0 |
| Rev. J. T. Barker, Louth | 14 16 0 |
| Halshaw Moor (Congregational collection), per Thomas Barnes, Esq. | 51 6 0 |
| Miss S. Boulton, Cheshunt, per Rev. Dr. Harris | 1 3 6 |
| Chapel-street Congregation, Wem (Rev. J. Patterson's), per Henry Lee, Esq. | 30 0 0 |
| William Urwick, Esq., Ludlow | 2 3 0 |
| Mrs. M. J. Oliver, Egremont | 2 10 0 |

The above sums are irrespective of those received by the brethren on the deputation which lately visited England for the same object, whose reception has been so gratifying; and also irrespective of several sums which have been acknowledged as received at the Patriot office for the Congregational Union of Ireland.

The Committee regret to state, notwithstanding what has been done by private liberality, and the measures projected by Government, there is little prospect of the fearful calamity being yet stayed. The reports coming in show that distress is still spreading and deepening in its most appalling forms.

T. TURNER, Royal Bank, Treasurer.

W. URWICK, Joint Secretary.

March 6th, 1847.
Amount already acknowledged through the Deputation and at the Patriot office, £2,038 2s. 0d.

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GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at the SOUTHWARK LITERARY INSTITUTION, Borough-road, on FRIDAY Evening next, March 10th, to explain the dangerous tendency of the Government proposal relating to Education, as developed in the Minutes of Council.

The Chair to be taken at Seven o'clock, by D. W. WIRE, Esq. Several Ministers and Gentlemen will address the meeting.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION.

A PUBLIC MEETING, in opposition to the Government Education Scheme, will be held on THURSDAY Evening next, at the HALL OF COMMERCE. The Chair will be taken at Half-past Six o'clock, by

DAVID WILLIAMS WIRE, Esq.

W. A. HANKEY, Treasurer.
F. A. COX,
R. AINSLIE, } Secretaries.
J. M. HARE,

Committee-room, King's Head, Poultry,

March 8, 1847.

The Committee sits daily at Eleven o'clock A.M., and daily attendance is given in the Committee-room from Ten till Four o'clock P.M.

* It is particularly requested that all Post-office orders for the use of the Committee may, for the present, be made payable to John Middleton Hare, at the King's Head, Poultry, London.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION.

A MEETING of the CENTRAL COMMITTEE appointed to aid in the Opposition to the Measure of Education contained in the Minutes of Council laid before Parliament, held on Thursday, March 8:

The Rev. JOHN HOWARD HINTON, A.M., in the Chair:

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted:—

That the Circular, descriptive of the Government Scheme of Education, pointing out the numerous objections to which it is liable, and suggesting the various modes in which it may be legally opposed and resisted, now submitted, be adopted and immediately circulated throughout the Kingdom, for the information and guidance of the opponents of the measure.

W. A. HANKEY, Treasurer.
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R. AINSLIE, } Secretaries.
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GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF EDUCATION.

A MEETING of the SOUTH LONDON COMMITTEE FOR OPPOSING THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION SCHEME, appointed at a Meeting of the Friends of Voluntary Education, convened on Tuesday last, at Lion-street Schoolroom, Walworth, and, by adjournment, to Thursday morning, March 4, the Rev. SAMUEL GREEN in the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

Moved by the Rev. James Mirams, of Kennington; seconded by Mr. T. M. Green:—

1. That this Committee, while they cherish a deep and unabated interest in the education of all classes of the people, and rejoice in the recent voluntary efforts for its extension, regard the measures developed in the Minutes of Council, of date August and December last, as open to the gravest objections, and as calling for the most strenuous opposition from all friends of civil and religious liberty, and especially from Protestant Dissenters.

Moved by the Rev. R. Little, of Collier's-rents; seconded by Mr. W. S. Gover:—

2. That among these objections, the unconstitutional nature of the proposal is one of the most serious, since it is a large measure for subsidizing and rendering dependent on the Ministry for the time, the present and future instructors of schools under government inspection, and since it is not submitted, as it ought to be, to the legislative wisdom of Parliament; but devised and intended to be carried into effect by small and comparatively irresponsible Committee of Council, constituted by the Crown, upon which, so far as these schools are concerned, it will henceforth devolve, to form the rising mind of the people—a task which it cannot perform, and ought not to attempt.

Moved by the Rev. John Aldis, of Maze Pond; seconded by Mr. S. K. Bland:—

3. That the proposal is further objectionable, as augmenting enormously the patronage of the Executive by placing under its control a fearful number of persons, in the several capacities of inspectors, conductors of schools, pupil-teachers, stipendiary monitors, Queen's scholars, &c., &c., taken from those classes of the community whom it were most injurious to the liberties of the country to bribe from their independence and freedom of thought and action in civil and political matters.

Moved by Mr. Hibberdine; seconded by Mr. George Izod:—

4. That to Protestant Dissenters the proposal is specially objectionable, as virtually creating an additional ecclesiastical establishment, greatly augmenting clerical power, compelling support of Government interference in the religious education of the people, and in teaching the Catechism and other formularies of the Church of England, against which Dissenters have uniformly and conscientiously protested, while it insults them by the offer of aid, which it is well known they cannot consistently accept.

Moved by the Rev. John Adey, of Horsleydown; seconded by Mr. R. L. Arundel:—

5. That these objections are not removed, but greatly strengthened, by the insidious attempt in the proposal to place all varieties of professed religious teaching on a level, thereby making the Crown a party-agent in the inculcation of opposite doctrines, and alloying it with every ecclesiastical system whose adherents will consent to an officious inspection of their educational proceedings.

Moved by the Rev. H. Richard, of Marlborough Chapel; seconded by Mr. T. P. Alder:—

6. That the proposal of so large a bounty to conductors of schools, to parents, and pupils, will unquestionably tend to inflict deep and irreparable injury on all schools not consenting to the required terms, among which must be reckoned a very large number of the most efficient and useful schools of the country; and, sooner or later, it will bring popular education under the influence of the State—a result which cannot be contemplated without the utmost solicitude, as fatal to the freedom, the self-sustained energy, and independent bearing of the people.

Moved by Mr. Daniel Pratt; seconded by Mr. T. N. Baker:—

7. That the proposals of the Committee of Council, since they will thus injure day-schools generally, cannot but be most deeply injurious to Dissenting Sunday-schools, the more especially since, in National Day-schools generally, it is required that their pupils should attend Church of England Sunday-schools. There will, therefore, be the less means of correcting the effect of elementary instruction being so largely imbued with the pernicious sentiments of the Catechism and formularies of the Established Church of these realms.

Moved by the Rev. J. Mirams; seconded by the Rev. John Aldis:—

8. That, upon these grounds, this Committee resolves to give the scheme their most determined and persevering opposition, by calling public meetings, promoting petitions to the Legislature, and correspondence with individual members of Parliament, and by uniting with the friends of voluntary education in the metropolis and throughout the country; for which purposes this Committee will sit weekly, on Tuesday mornings, at half-past seven, at Lion-street Schoolroom, Walworth, and earnestly invite the co-operation of all parties concurring in the principles upon which this opposition is based.

SAMUEL GREEN, Chairman.
DANIEL PRATT, Secretary.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

THE GOVERNMENT SCHEME OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

A MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, held March 3rd, 1847, the following Resolutions were adopted:—

1. That, having attentively considered the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, laid before Parliament, and the explanatory observations of the Lord President on introducing them to the notice of the House of Lords, this Committee feel it to be their imperative duty to protest against the scheme of education under the joint superintendence of government inspectors and the parochial clergy of the Established Church, therein developed.

II. That, apart from the question of Government interference with the secular instruction of the people, on which it does not fall within the immediate province of this Committee to express an opinion, the proposed measure lies open to the strongest objections as involving a scheme of Church-extension, amounting, in effect, to the imposition of a Supplementary Church Establishment; and that in the following respects:—

1. The inspectors appointed by the Committee of Council to superintend the carrying out of the measure, are, for the most part, clergymen of the Established Church; and they will be, in almost every case, subject to the veto of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of York.

2. In schools connected with the Established Church, religious instruction, embracing the Church Catechism and Liturgy, is made compulsory.

3. In such schools, the parochial clergyman is associated with the inspector in the examination of the children on religious subjects.

4. In the same class of schools, no child can become a pupil teacher or a stipendiary monitor, nor reap the subsequent benefits to be conferred—whether in the shape of such appointments, or of Queen's Scholarships or other Exhibitions in Normal Schools, or of appointments as schoolmasters and in the revenue departments, or of fees for the training of pupil teachers and stipendiary monitors, or of grants in aid of salary or annual gratuities for efficiency in the management of schools or of school field-gardens and workshops, or of retiring pensions—without a yearly certificate from the parochial clergyman while in *status pupillari*, and his continued approval ever afterwards.

III. That the direct and inevitable operation of the measure will be, not merely to place the instruction of the people under the superintendence and control of the Established clergy, but also to render a large section of the community utterly dependent upon their countenance and good opinion for daily bread and success in life; thereby giving to them an additional weight and influence in the country highly prejudicial to the interests of civil and religious liberty.

IV. That, should the proposed scheme be carried into full effect, the Established Clergy will probably have at their disposal, in addition to the enormous revenues already in their possession, a supplementary income of little less than two million pounds sterling annually.

V. That, inasmuch as the repugnance of Protestant Dissenters in general to the reception of Government grants for educational purposes is notorious, the pretended impartiality of the measure, in offering a participation in pecuniary benefits to schools and School-masters of all denominations, irrespective of ecclesiastical distinctions, is utterly delusive; while it is manifestly unjust and oppressive, that, from funds contributed by the members of all religious persuasions indiscriminately, large resources should be drawn to be distributed at the discretion and under the control of the clergy of the Established Church, for the manifest purpose of recovering and extending their influence over the popular mind, and of fortifying themselves against the opponents of ecclesiastical establishments and clerical despotism.

VI. That, for these reasons, this Committee earnestly deprecate the adoption of the measure by the Legislature, and strongly urge upon the friends of the Voluntary Principle and of Religious Liberty, the duty of opposing its further progress by every means consistent with the law, and especially by distinct intimations to their representatives in Parliament of their settled determination to withhold their votes at the ensuing General Election, from all candidates who are not prepared to resist every attempt to extend the power, patronage, and possessions of the Established Church.

F. A. COX,
E. MIALL, } Secretaries.
J. M. HARE,

12, Warwick-square, March 3, 1847.

BRITISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE.

The Constitution of the Association having provided that a Conference should be convened once in three years, at least, of parties friendly to organized effort for promoting the separation of the Church from the State, the Executive Committee announce that the FIRST TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE will commence its sittings at the LONDON TAVERN, Bishopsgate-street, London, on TUESDAY, the 4th of MAY next, at Ten o'clock, A.M.

The following persons will be entitled to be present and take part in the proceedings:—

1. Members of the Association.

2. Any two delegates appointed by a meeting, congregational or otherwise, publicly convened, which shall have adopted the fundamental principle of the Society.

3. Any two delegates nominated in writing by one hundred persons, in any city, borough, parish, or township, or in more than one of these united, such parties expressly concurring in the fundamental principle of the Society.

It is requested that the election of all delegates may be communicated to the Secretaries on or before the 31st day of March next, and that each delegate may be furnished by his constituents with the means of defraying a fair proportion of the expenses incurred by holding the Conference.

The following are the terms of the fundamental principle referred to:—

"That in matters of religion man is responsible to God alone; that all legislation by secular governments in affairs of religion is an encroachment upon the rights of man, and an invasion of the prerogatives of God; and that the application by law of the resources of the State to the maintenance of any form or forms of religious worship and instruction, is contrary to reason, hostile to human liberty, and directly opposed to the word of God."

By order of the Executive Committee,

F. A. COX,
E. MIALL, } Secretaries.
J. M. HARE,

Offices and Book Depôt, 12, Warwick-square,
Paternoster-row, London; Feb. 11, 1847.

A BRIEF and FINAL APPEAL to the CONSTITUENTS of the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

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GOVERNMENT EDUCATION.

A SPECIAL MEETING of the Board of Congregational Ministers of London and its Vicinity, held at the Congregational Library, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, on Wednesday, February 24th, 1847.

The Rev. JOHN BLACKBURN in the Chair:

It was resolved unanimously—

1. That this Board greatly rejoices in the progress that has been made during the last twenty-five years in providing for the instruction of the people, principally by voluntary efforts; the number of schools being much increased, and their character also improved; and considers it most desirable that no change should be introduced unfavourable to individual exertion and liberality, to local superintendence and control—these being the best means for the advancement of a good national education.

2. That, from their acquaintance with the state of the people, they are assured that the chief hindrance to universal education is, the extreme indigence and physical degradation of the lowest class of society; and that the Government may most effectually aid in the instruction of the poor by lessening their burdens and enlarging their opportunities of profitable industry; since no provision of schools and teachers can avail for the elevation of the overworked and the destitute.

3. That the ignorance of religion which unhappily still exists in many parts of this country, must be regarded as some proof of the inefficacy of a state provision to remedy the evil; the vast amount of property held under the control of Government being quite sufficient, if it could have produced and preserved a very effective agency for the instruction either of the old or young.

4. That the manner in which the present Government Scheme of Education has been brought forward is unconstitutional; since, without the usual forms of Parliamentary discussion and enactment, a large addition is proposed to the power of the Committee of Council, and an institution is set up which must have a most important influence both on the character and condition of the people.

5. That the projected plan appears to be designed not so much to supply a present deficiency in the means of instruction as to place the whole education of the country, so far as it is possible, permanently under State control; and that the influence thus given to the Government over the minds of the people, together with its augmented patronage, and the unlimited powers of the inspectors, and of the Committee of Council, should be regarded with the most serious apprehension by all who are concerned for the real welfare of their country; being altogether opposed to that individual energy, freedom, and self-reliance, to which, under the divine blessing, our national prosperity must be mainly attributed.

6. That the proposed measure will make a large addition to the riches and power of the present Established Church; its dignitaries only being allowed to interfere with the appointment of Inspectors, its ministers only being made school officers, and its catechism being enforced by the authority of the Government in most of the schools which are to be assisted from the National Treasury—a procedure which is the more unjust, because the favoured class being the wealthiest, is best able, without Government patronage, to disseminate its peculiar religious opinions; and because recent events have not strengthened public confidence in the instructions of the State Church; while the lessons of the Church Catechism are more than ever opposed, as unscriptural and injurious.

7. That Dissenters have no wish to share in the political privileges of the Established Church, since they regard the sustenance and control of any form of religion by the State as unnecessary and unchristian, and the support of all sects in their diverse religious teaching as dishonourable to truth; but that they still further object to the proposed plan, because, in its operation, it will certainly be most partial and oppressive; for, in places where only one school can be supported, their children will necessarily be excluded from the education aided by the State, unless they repeat the Catechism, which in their lips would be false; and in other places, where the bounty proffered was on principle declined, their scholars and teachers would be tempted to conformity with the State Church by worldly advantages—a result which, while especially grievous to those who have been most zealous in promoting popular education, can seldom be conducive to the advancement of integrity and religion.

8. That the plan of Education presented by her Majesty's Government to Parliament not being shown to be either necessary or effectual, being in its introduction unconstitutional, and in its influence adverse to the free spirit of our country, being evidently designed for the further aggrandizement of the Established Church, and as evidently tending to the injury of other churches, it becomes us to offer to it the most earnest resistance, with the hope that the Government will be persuaded to cease from attempting to favour any form of Christianity, and to confine itself to its proper functions of secular usefulness, so that all may equally share in the advantage it bestows, and national prosperity be promoted by the universal culture of independence, truth, and justice.

(Signed) JOHN BLACKBURN, Chairman.
GEORGE ROSE, Secretary.

APPRENTICESHIP SOCIETY.

THE HALF-YEARLY GENERAL MEETING of the Governors, Members, and Subscribers of this Society,